THE
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI
VOLUME LXII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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PREFACE

The first section of this volume continues our publication of Comic adespota. **4301** is a scrap of Old Comedy, very likely Eupolis. **4302–5** represent later Comedy; of these, **4302** adds a new fragment to the Aischron play, **4303** gives the end of a first act in Menandrean style, **4304** introduces a miser and a gourmet (possible Middle Comedy), **4305** could be ascribed to Menander's *Synaristosai*. We are grateful to Dr Austin, Mr Brown and especially Professor Handley for their contributions. These pieces were made available in proof for use in Kassel & Austin, *PCG* VIII (1995) (items 1151–5); the texts presented here differ only in a very few amendments.

Part II (**4306–9**) continues the publication of mythographic texts, with editions by Professor M. A. Harder; **4306–8** contain lists related to the so-called *Indices* in Hyginus, and so contribute to the history of that tradition. Part III (**4310–33**) includes all the remaining papyri of Demosthenes I–IX so far identified in the Oxyrhynchus collection. These show, as we have come to expect, sporadic divergences from, and varying allegiances among, the medieval MSS; **4321** has a different interest, as a prose text marked up for reading with quite unusual elaboration. Dr Whitehorne has undertaken the bulk, with contributions by Dr Hübner and Professor Reeve; Dr W. E. H. Cockle cleaned **4321**, and allowed us to use the revised transcript which resulted. These editions have been coordinated and partly reworked by Parsons, who takes responsibility for any errors.

The documents (**4334–4351**) are with one exception edited by the late Professor J. C. Shelton, whose sadly early death came as a great personal shock to us and to all who are concerned with editorial work on the Egypt Exploration Society's Graeco-Roman Memoirs. We have valued his friendship and welcomed his collaboration for many years. He was the sole author of the fourth and last volume of *The Tebtunis Papyri* and contributed meticulous editions of very difficult documents to six of the previous volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. We may mention as of special interest the publication of the fourth century archive of Papnuthis and Dorotheus in Volume XLVIII **3384–3429**, with **3430**. His contributions to this volume are very diverse: **4335** reveals an Alexandrian who owned and leased at least fifty aruras of land in the Oxyrhynchite nome; **4336** refers to the Oxyrhynchite estate of the well known Alexandrian family of the Iulii Theones; several entries in a fourth-century tax schedule give the rates at which money taxes were charged in proportion to the extent of the tax-payer's holding in land (**4348**); two of his three sixth-century documents concern the collection of taxes through the agency of the household of the Apion family (**4350–1**). **4347** was prepared by Drs Coles and Rea, and has a new official somehow connected with Libya. Indexes I–XV were compiled by Rea.

We are grateful to Dr Nikolaos Gonis for compiling Index XVI and especially for his careful reading of the page proofs, which at the last moment eliminated some deplorable errors and added valuable items to the bibliography.

As usual we are deeply indebted to the staff of the Charlesworth Group for solving with great skill and good temper the many problems in the printing of our intractable material.

December, 1995

P. J. PARSONS
J. R. REA
General Editors

CONTENTS

TABLE OF PAPYRI

I. COMEDY

II. MYTHOGRAPHY

III. DEMOSTHENES

IV. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

CFLA = C.F.L.Austin EWH = E.W.Handley JRR = J.R.Rea
PGMcCB = P.G.McC.Brown MAH = M.A.Harder MDR = M.D.Reeve
WEHC = W.E.H.Cockle RH = R.Hübner JCS = J.C.Shelton
RAC = R.A.Coles PJP = P.J.Parsons JEGW = J.E.G.Whitehorne

LIST OF PLATES

NUMBERS AND PLATES

NOTE ON THE METHOD OF
PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation, see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

αβγ	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
. . .	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[αβγ]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[. . .]	Approximately three letters are lost
( )	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. (ἀρτάβη) represents the symbol ⨪, cτρ(ατηγόc) represents the abbreviation cτρ𐅵
⟦αβγ⟧	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
ʽαβγʼ	The letters are added above the line
⟨αβγ⟩	The letters are added by the editor
{αβγ}	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Heavy arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, 4th edition (*BASP* Suppl. No. 7, 1992). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

I. COMEDY

4301. OLD COMEDY

49 5B.99/D(37–38)a   8 × 6 cm   First/second century

Two scraps written in an elegant decorated hand of the 'Roman Uncial' type, to be compared with PSI XI 1213 and assigned to the late first or earlier second century AD. On fr. 1 the left-hand margin survives to 2 cm. Punctuation by paragraphos (paler ink, probably a second hand). The back is blank.

Fr. 1.5 mentions a Kleonymos. Various Kleonymoi are known from literary sources (and LGPN II 268 records a sprinkle of Athenian private citizens); but since the remains suggest iambics, and dialogue, we should probably look to Old Comedy and to the podgy run-away lampooned by Aristophanes and Eupolis (see MacDowell on *Wasps* 19). The context provides possibly political elements: fr. 1.4 ἑταῖρον, 6 γραφαῖcιν, 8 perhaps a form of προδιδόναι. Too little survives to determine whether we have trimeters (dialogue), or catalectic tetrameters (agon).

A more precise possibility should be mentioned. The hand of these fragments is not just similar, but very similar, to that of PSI 1213, although that is more heavily inked; and the size of the letters and the spacing of the lines seem to make a good match.[1] It will be worth considering whether **4301** comes from the same roll, or the same scribe, as PSI 1213. Note that PSI 1213 was found at Oxyrhynchus by Breccia; there are other cases in which Grenfell and Hunt, and Breccia, in successive excavations, recovered fragments of the same manuscript (e.g. III **454** and PSI II 119; XXXII **2639** and PSI XI 1191) or of different manuscripts in the same hand (J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* (1990) 193–5).

PSI 1213 too contains Old Comedy: lines from Eupolis, *Prospaltioi* (fr. 260 KA). This play dates from 429 (I. C. Storey, *Phoenix* 44 (1990) 14 f.). If **4301** belongs to it, this would be the earliest mention of Kleonymos: his career as a butt runs from *Acharnians* (425) to *Birds* (414), his political career from 426/5 to 415, see I. C. Storey, *RhM* 132 (1989) 247–61. Eupolis certainly referred to Kleonymos as a run-away (fr. 352), but we do not know in which play. Scholars have argued that since the shield joke appears in *Knights*, but not in *Acharnians*, it must refer to an incident of 425 (Storey 250 f.), in which case fr. 352 cannot belong to *Prospaltioi*. But the argument is clearly insecure.

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[1] Of the published photographs of PSI 1213, that in Norsa, *Scrittura letteraria greca* pl. 9(a) seems to reproduce the actual size. I am grateful to Mr N. Gonis for measuring the original. He reports that the paragraphoi of PSI 1213, like those of **4301**, are in a slightly greyer ink.

Fr. 1

```
          .        .
      _.[.].ω[].._[
      β[ ]υλης∈τ[
      ‾ημηνϲυθ[
      ∈ταιρονητη_.[
  5   ‾κλ∈ωνυμοϲδ[
      γραφαιϲινοδ∈_._[
      ‾_..ουχιδη_.ρ_.[
      _..ανπροδ_..[
      ‾_.ρ∈καιτα[
 10   ω_.χ_..ν[
      ∈_._[
          .        .
```

$Kλεώνυμος$ δ[

Fr. 2

```
          .
      ]_.μ[
      ]_.ϲμ_..[
      ]_.αρη[
      ]_.πα[
  5   ]_.τ∈_.[
      ]_.._[
          .        .
```

Fr. 1

1]_., lower part of oblique descending from left to right   ]_.[, second, foot of upright   **2** υ, the seriffed foot but also the junction of the branches   **4** _.[, seriffed foot, left-hand end of horizontal above (π, τ)   **6** _..[, triangular top (α, δ, λ); then perhaps uprights and parts of cross-bar of η   **7** _..., perhaps top and left-hand oblique of α, δ, λ; lower part of λ, unless a further trace to left belongs to the base-line of a damaged δ; traces of oblique descending from left to right?   δη _.., top and left-hand tip of triangular letter (α, δ, λ, μ); triangular letter (α, λ, end of μ)   ρ _.., left corner and back of triangular letter; left end of high horizontal with parts of upright below (π, τ)   **8** _..., first probably o, just possibly ϲ   _..[, left-hand arc of circle (o, ϲ), but perhaps to be combined with next as ω; then seriffed upright on the edge   **9** _..., elements of circle, o or beginning of ω; uncertain traces; then possibly upper elements of μ   **10** χ_.., top of α, δ, λ; top of υ, χ   **11** _.., first, perhaps top of oblique descending from left to right (υ, χ?)

Fr. 2

1]_., remains of upright   **2** _.[, first, left-hand arc of circle; both traces might combine in ω   **3**]_., overhang of ∈, ϲ?   ρ, or just possibly a damaged τ   **4**]_., probably overhang and base of ϲ   **5** _.[, left-hand side of circular letter?   **6**]_.., perhaps elements of κ, χ; then o, ϲ?

---

2 β[o]υλησ∈τ[.

3 Probably ἦ μὴν ϲύ with the future, a threat, as at Aristoph. *N.* 865, 1242, *V.* 1332, cf. *Eccl.* 1034, *Plu.* 608 (so ἦ μὴν ἐγώ at *V.* 643, Eup. fr. 192.151 KA).

6 γραφαῖϲ ἵν' or γραφαῖϲιν? νόμων γραφαῖϲιν in anonymous trochaic tetrameters, CGFPR 292.13.

7 The traces would allow ἀλλ' οὐχὶ Δημάρατ[. But if so, who? The Spartan king might be linked with treachery (cf. 8): but does one expect such an historical allusion? Of Athenians (LGPN II 103), only the commander mentioned at Thuc. 6.105.2 is remotely of the right period. Nothing is known of him except for this raid (summer, 414); but his colleague Laispodias made many appearances in comedy (Aristoph. *Av.* 1569 with schol.; Eup. fr. 107 KA). All references are or may be ten to fifteen years later than *Prospaltioi.*

8 προδῶι[looks possible: with οὐκ ἂν before? (ἂν=ἐάν is transmitted at Aristoph. *Th.* 154 and 1187, Pher. fr. 125 KA); or οὓς ἂν? But προδοίη[may not be excluded.

9 ὦ μῶρε likely (Aristoph. *Equ.* 162 etc, fr. 402.1).

9–10 Any paragraphos between these lines will be lost in a hole in the papyrus.

10 Perhaps ὡς χαυν[- (we owe the reading to Dr J. R. Rea); ϲ seems to suit the traces better than ι or ν.

C. F. L. AUSTIN—P. J. PARSONS

4302. New Comedy

Fr. 1, here published for the first time, preserves to full height the line-beginnings of a single column, written in a handsome Biblical Uncial script. The twenty two lines of the column occupy 12.5 cm; the surviving upper margin measures 5.5 cm, the surviving lower margin 7.5 cm. The left-hand margin survives to 2.8 cm (possibly a trace from the preceding column on the edge to the left of line 7). Punctuation by paragraphos (added by a shakier hand) and double point (perhaps also by the shakier hand; in 7 certainly squeezed in between letters already written; in other places it seems that a gap had been left by the first hand). In 17 an acute accent on τι. Crasis marked in 10?

Fr. 2 is one of a group of ten pieces published by E. W. Handley in *Proc. XIV Int. Congr. Pap.* (1975) 133–148, with plates. These pieces make up the remains of three columns, not necessarily consecutive, of New Comedy. The columns have 22 lines; column height 12.5 cm, upper margin at least 6.3 cm, lower margin at least 7.2 cm. Handley considered whether another spacious Biblical Uncial manuscript, PRyl I 16 (*CGFPR* 248), might belong to the same roll, and decided against (especially since PRyl 16 was found at Theadelphia, not at Oxyrhynchus). But in a later article (*BICS* 24 (1977) 132–4, with plate) he argued that another handsome manuscript from Oxyrhynchus, IV **678** (*CGFPR* 269), might well belong to the same roll: format and script are very similar.

The new fr. 1 and Handley's fr. B (here renumbered as fr. 2) contain line-beginnings and line-ends from the same column: that is shown by the coincidence of subject matter, and the coherent supplements which offer for 14 and 17, as well as by the exact match of formats. The new piece confirms that **678** belongs to the same play, therefore to the same roll: the repeated αιϲχρων (fr. 1.4, 18) will be the proper name preserved, with distinctive accent, at **678** 7, and to be read in fr. 2.6; forms of προϲτάτηϲ occur at fr. 1.5 and **678** 5.

Handley considered the possibility that his fragments belonged to *Aspis*: the dialogue between Enquirer and Slave, preserved in his frr. A and B, might be a dialogue between Smikrines and Daos, and fit in the large lacuna after *Aspis* 468. H. J. Mette, *Lustr.* 25 (1983) 15, 21–3, accepted the placing, combined the fragments into continuous text, and offered some new supplements. M. Rossi, *Prom.* 3 (1977) 43–8, produced arguments against the attribution; W. G. Arnott, *Menander* I (1979) 7–10, and D. Del Corno, *Scritti in onore di O. Montevecchi* (1981) 125–31, are equally sceptical.

The new fragment contributes to this discussion. (i) We do not know whether Aristopeithes (3) appeared in the play; but clearly Aischron played a substantial part, and prima facie he is addressed, i.e. on stage, in 4 and 18. But no such character appears in the reasonably full cast-list that we can reconstruct for *Aspis*. (ii) A *prostates* appears here (4?, 5), and in the vocative in **678**. If the word here refers, as often, to the patron of a metic, that would suit the concern with property and the polemarch mentioned in Handley's fr. C. But, as Rossi argued, although property is central to *Aspis*, there is no clear mention of metic property.

What happens in frr. 1 + 2 is less easy to say. We think it most likely that the general theme is an actual or potential swindle, directed to the property of an heiress who, being a metic, is in the charge of a *prostates* and subject to the jurisdiction of the polemarch: some undisclosed fact will make the swindle rebound on its perpetrator. The position of an heiress is (given the nature of Athenian law) a likely enough motif for a comic plot: apart from *Aspis*, compare LIX **3972**. Another type of financial plot is implied by the title of Menander's *Parakatatheke*.

Fr. 1

top

```
1    α̣ . [ ] . . [
     εξω . . δα[
     αριϲτοπ . [
     αιϲχρων[
5    οπροϲτα . [
     μναϲεβδ . [
     μναϲεβδ . [
     εγωπαρε . [
     κορινθια[
10   τᾱργυριο[
     ελαβεϲϲυ[
     τιμηνκ[
     ειληφαπ[
     εβλεπομ . [
```

Fr. 2

```
] . φη : [ . ]λεγε :
] . . μναιδεκα ·
] . ουκοιϲθαϲυ
]ηϲευοῖδ᾿οτι
] . [ . . ]φουϲεχει
] . ϲεϲτ . . . . ρων . . [
]ερας : αλλουκεχειϲ[
]κορινθια :
]κατελιπε
]᾿ . . . υϲπαρων
]τιο . . . [ . . ] . . . [
]ειϲ · γωδετι
] . ιονουκαρα
]οντεϲπληϲιον
```

```
15   ϲυδεμοι . [
     παντωϲ : π . [
     τ̣ίεϲτ᾿αναμ[
     αιϲχρων : π[
     . ο . [ ]εϲτιτου[
20   ωπαμπου[
     ωϲουποηϲ . [
     τωνωμολ . [
```

```
]νοντιδραπετα
]ανοντι : δηλαδη
] . ϲαυτονϲχοληι
]ωτοπραγμ᾿εχω · [ ]τωικαλλιανϛμ . . [
] . [ . ]τεμαθον·
] . ιννιμαχει :
] . δηλαδη
]ιϲτουτο · και    καθαπερειτην[
                 εκεινηγεπ . . ειϲθε[
```

foot

Fr. 1

1 . [, seriffed foot just below the line; ink (foot of upright?) at line-level] . . [, upright; left-hand arc of circle (sigma? enough papyrus survives on the right to exclude ο, ω?) 2 εξ, traces above, paragraphos? ω . . , top of λ? then indeterminate ink on shifted fibres 3 τ, trace might allow π but space is against it? . [, ε or θ 5 . [, left-hand end of high horizontal, more ink at line-level to the right 6 . [, upright trace, or part of the left-hand arc, on the edge 7 . [, left-hand arc of circle on the edge 8 . [, traces on edge, perhaps left-hand oblique of λ or the like? 10 τα, horizontal trace above alpha, too far right to continue the paragraphos (i.e. longum?) 14 . [, curve and speck suggesting top of ε or ϲ 15 . [, trace of mid-height horizontal on projecting fibre 16 :, lower point uncertain, but rather this than the end of the lower curve of ϲ before . [, lower left corner of α, δ 19 . ο . , left-hand arc of circle; upright, possibly junction with descending oblique at top 21 . [, left-hand arc of circle on edge 22 . [, left-hand arc, ο or ϲ

Fr. 2

1] . , upper fibres stripped, short horizontal trace on the underlayer at line-level, well to the left of φ 2] . . , confused traces; then upright cut off at the top by stripping 3] . , point at line-level, possibly foot of oblique descending from left 4 οτι, tiny trace high to right of iota, possibly remains of high stop? 5] . , τ or perhaps] . γ [. .], upper fibres stripped 6] . , high trace unexplained (too high to belong to any normal letter in this line; possibly long descender from 5, i.e. φ, ψ?) τ . . . , third, top of ε, ϲ; fourth, converging diagonals, top of υ, χ . . [, parts of upright, or added dicolon; left-hand side of ε, θ? 8 ν . , upper arc of θ, ο 10 . , left-hand arc of circle; top of υ, χ; upper arc of circle 11 ο . . . , first, upright; third (or fourth?), lower arc of circle; other traces in this line are vestigial and on the underlayer 12 high stop vestigial . γ, small traces in vertical alignment 13] . , right-hand arc, θ, ο 16] . , oblique descending from left to right (α, δ, λ) 17] . , apparently upper and lower tips of ϲ 19] . [, high point of ink 20] . , fibres twisted; possibly lower left arc of circle 21] . , thick horizontal ink at half-height

Fr. 1

```
1    α̣ . [ ] . . [
     εξω . . δα[
     Ἀριϲτοπε[ιθ
     Αἴϲχρων[
```

Fr. 2

```
] . φη : λέγε :
] . ι μναῖ δέκα ·
] . οὐκ οἶϲθα ϲὺ
]ηϲ εὖ οἶδ᾿ ὅτι
```

5   ὁ προστάτ[ης   ]. [.]φους ἔχει

     μνᾶς ἑβδο[μήκοντ'   ] . ς ἐςτ' Αἴςχρων . . [

     μνᾶς ἑβδο[μήκοντ'   ]ερας : ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔχεις[

     ἐγὼ παρε . [   ] Κορινθία :

     Κορινθία[   ] κατέλιπε

10   τἀργύριο[ν   ]' εὐθὺς παρὼν

     ἔλαβες ςυ[   ]τιο . . . [.] . . . [

     τιμὴν κ[   ]εις · ἐγὼ δε τι

     εἴληφαπ[   ] . ιον οὐκ ἄρα

     ἐβλέπομε[ν   ]οντες πληςίον

15   ςὺ δέ μοι . [   ]νοντι, δραπέτα

     πάντως : πα[   ]ανοντι : δηλαδή

     τί ἐςτ' ἀναμ[   ] . ςαυτὸν ςχολῆι

     Αἴςχρων : π[   ]ω τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἔχω · [] τωικαλλιαν∫μ. . [

     ςόν ἐςτι του[   ] κ[α]τέμαθον ·

20   ὦ παμπόν[ηρ   ] . ι νυνὶ μαχεῖ :

     ὡς οὐ ποης . [   ] . δηλαδή

     τῶν ὡμολο[γημένων   ]ις τοῦτο· καὶ   καθαπερειτην[

                                                           εκειωηγεπ . ειςθε'[

The two likeliest supplements (14, 17) set the central lacuna at c. 12 letters.

We have three clues to the general reconstruction. (i) Characters. Clearly we have dialogue, but no evidence of a third speaker. One speaker will be Aischron, if he is addressed in 4 and 18; one or other might be a slave, if we assume (what is not certain) that only a slave would be addressed as δραπέτα (15). (ii) Background. We have to accommodate ὁ προστάτ[ης, Κορινθία (if a person), κατέλιπε, money and an agreement (22). One scheme would involve a Corinthian metic, an inheritance, and her Athenian patron; the polemarch (mentioned in Handley's fr. C 1) would have jurisdiction in such cases. (iii) Action. This is an argument: the speakers proceed by taking up each other's words (3–4?, 6–7, 8–9, 15–6). In 17 Aischron is apparently exhorted to keep calm; therefore it may be he who uses the insults in 15 and 20. The other party perhaps questions his conduct, and especially what he has done with the money. Note that paragraphoi may (or may not) be lost below lines 17 and 19.

Some of this can be confirmed from Handley's fr. A. There too there is a dialogue. One party is certainly a slave (3). There is mention of money (2), of theft (5), of making a true *apographe* (14) of what is 'within' and what has been loaned out (15). Prima facie it is the slave who must account for the property.

1 αυτης[possible.

] . φη, the first trace is on the underfibres, and probably too far to the left to encourage εφη. Since the talk is of money, ἀπογραφή (ἀπεγράφη etc) would be one possibility (cf. Handley's fr. A 14).

: [.], perhaps : [ν]. After η, apparently a dicolon in normal form, though rather faint; then a little scattered ink; then two short horizontals which also could be taken as a bold dicolon. Since the surface is relatively well-preserved, we assume that a letter was deliberately expunged; it is not clear why part of it was left (unless indeed the original dicolon was expunged with the rest, and the short horizontals were written to replace it and to fill out the gap).

2 After εξω (ἔξω, ἔξω) the top of a triangular letter; doubtful ink on shifted fibres, possibly a median horizontal; then δ; then another triangular letter, in context presumably α. Against διδα[ςκ: the space, and perhaps the trace, suggest something wider than iota. δεδα[would suit the second trace, if the fibres are rightly arranged: perhaps ἔξω δεδα[ν- (cf. A 15 πός' ἐςτὶ τἄνδον, [πό]ςα κεχρήκαμέν τιςιν).

] . ι, apparently not κ]αι (say, τάλαντον ἓν κ]αι = 70 minas, as in 6–7); possibly]νι. If so, we could think of a proper name (say, ἔξω δεδά[νειςται Δεξίω]νι μναῖ δέκα, / Ἀριςτοπε[ίθει μναῖ δέκ').

μναῖ δέκα, Men. *Kolax* 129.

3 Ἀριστοπε[ιθ-: the proper name seems inevitable (αριστοπο[ι- cannot be read): not attested in literature, but there is a scatter of examples in inscriptions (two from Attica, LGPN II (1994) 60).

4 Αἴςχρων or αἰςχρῶν, but its recurrence (6, 18) points to a proper name; and in IV **678** it is accented as such. This name too is new in Comedy, and in literary texts in general; but very common in Attic inscriptions (LGPN II (1994) 16). Here, after ςύ, and 18, after ςαυτόν, it looks like a vocative.

]ης: given the many repetitions, ὁ προστάτ]ης could be considered, cf. 5.

εὖ οἶδ' sounds like an answer to οὐκ οἶςθα. Then there must be a change of speaker (immediately?) after Αἴςχρων. But certainly no paragraphos was written.

5 ὁ προστάτ[ης: **678** 5 ὦ προςτατ[. The word is used at Men. *Pk* 279, fr. 408.2, but in very general senses. In the particular sense of a metic's legal patron, it would cohere with Handley's fr. C 1 π]ολεμαρχο[: see Harrison, *Law* I 193 f.

] . [. . .]φους: Handley originally proposed]τ[ρ]οφους (whence ςυν]τρόφους Mette). But τ is not certain, and nothing can now be seen of the letter before φ: so that (say) ἐ]γγ[ρά]φους might be considered.

6–7 What money? (i) It might be the price of a Corinthian girl (8–9), cf. Plaut. *Pers.* 743 minas sexaginta (and often), *Epid.* 468. (ii) It might be a capital sum, possibly an inheritance (9?), which has to be accounted for (by or to the *prostates*).

6 Αἴςχρων: the reading is confirmed by the new context. Then, apparently, dicolon and ε[or θ[: e.g. ἐ[γώ, ἔ[χει (cf. 5) etc.

8 παρε . [, apparently an upright on the edge, e.g. παρέρ[γως, παρ' ε . [, rather than παρελ[θών, παρές[χον? But the traces are slight.

Κορινθία might be an ethnic (it is the title of plays by Antiphanes and Philemon), or a proper name. But clearly the neuter Κορίνθια could not be excluded. κατέλιπε 'left' might suggest a will, and Κορίνθια could then refer to heirlooms. But the verb could equally mean 'left behind' (of persons, *Asp.* 127, 292, *Pk.* 174).

10 τἀργύριο[ν. The crasis is apparently noted in the papyrus by a long-mark.

]': e.g. ἀλλ]'.

11]τιον possible: [μαρτύρων ἐναν]τίον, then (say) τριῶν? τινῶν?

12]εις, the stop is vestigial; not seemingly a dicolon. At the end, δὲ τί or δέ τι.

13]ο or]θ. Perhaps οἷον οὐκ ἄρα / ἐβλέπομε[ν ἡμεῖς οἱ παρ]όντες 'Did I receive something?'—'As if after all we didn't all see it at close quarters.' Or, if οὐκ ἄρα should begin its clause, γελ]οῖον· (the stripped fibres might conceal a stop, or even a dicolon) οὐκ ἄρα / ἐβλέπομε[ν ὀρθῶς οἱ παρ]όντες. No sign of dicolon after πληςίον, although the surface is partly preserved.

15]νοντι, 16]ανοντι: -ανον τι? or a verbal form? After ἔλαβες and εἴληφα (11, 13), the altercation might continue (say) ςὺ δέ μοι π[αρῆςθα λαμβά]νοντι, δραπέτα; ⟨ : ⟩ πάντως : πα[ρῆςθα λαμβ]άνοντι; : δηλαδή.

16 πάντως: the dicolon following is likely, although the lower dot is dim. This might be a one-word comment, as at Men. *Ep.* 238; but there is no sign of dicolon at the end of 15, although the paragraphos indicates a change of speaker at some point in the line.

δηλαδή might be a one-word utterance (Alex. 177.6, as articulated by Meineke); or a one-word clause (Ar. *Vesp.* 442). Again there is no sign of dicolon after it.

17 τί ἐςτ'; ἀνάμ[ενε καὶ κάτεχ]ε ςαυτὸν ςχολῆι? Cf. Men. *Sam.* 327. The traces before ςαυτόν most suggest ς; but a small disturbance of the fibres may be enough to conceal the right-hand tip of the cross-bar of ε.

Below the beginning, damaged fibres; a paragraphos may or may not have been written.

18 f. For example: π[αρῆςθα (cf. 15–6). κατανο]ῶ τὸ πρᾶγμ' (*Sam.* 153–4), ἔχω. / ςόν ἐςτι τοῦ[το τοὔργον, ἄρτι] κ[α]τέμαθον. But there are two uncertainties about the punctuation. (i) After πραγμ, high ink has the right shape for an apostrophe, but another spot below remains unaccounted for: was it a middle stop? or might it be taken with the high ink to form a dicolon? (ii) What follows εχω has a stop, or a damaged dicolon.

The decipherment of the marginal note remains doubtful. If we take the squiggle as an all-purpose abbreviation mark (as often in documents), we could interpret τῶι Καλλιαν(ῶι), Καλλιάν(ακτι)—attested names

(but not in Comedy); then possibly μαχ[? If this is a gloss, there must have been some equivalent in the text; yet the space and the sense leave little room for manoeuvre.

19 Below the beginning, stripped fibres; a paragraphos may or may not have been written. End, high stop rather than damaged dicolon.

20 ὦ παμπόν[ηρ' ἄνθρωπ', ἐμ]οὶ νυνὶ μαχεῖ; Cf. CGFPR 230.18; Men. *Misoum.* 132 ἐμοὶ μαχεῖ, τάλαν;

21 ποης [, the trace would allow ο or ω. ποήςω [γ' οὐδὲν? Or if]ιc in 22 represents a verb, ὡς οὐ ποήςω[ν οὐδέν, Αἴσχρω]ν, δηλαδή, . . -ε]ιc τοῦτο?

22 Mette reconstructed the marginal note thus: καθαπερεὶ τὴν [λόγχην·ἐκείνη γ(ὰρ) ἐπιςειςθε(ῖςα)[(we could then supply a verb to mean 'causes fear' or the like). This depends on recognising a form of ἐπιςείω, and in that the decipherment looks plausible. Two oddities remain: ὴ, which would normally represent γην or γων, must be taken as γάρ (normally γ́) or indeed γοῦν (elsewhere γ°); the ink after θε looks like a raised vertical (iota?), again an unusual form of abbreviation. The note presumably refers to the text on its left. Nothing that survives looks in need of explanation; therefore the difficulty must have occurred in the lacuna. Did the text have ἐπιςείε]ιc τοῦτο, 'threaten me with this'? or better a synonym, say ἐφίε]ιc, which the comment explains as a metaphor from spear-throwing?

C. F. L. AUSTIN—E. W. HANDLEY—P. J. PARSONS

4303. NEW COMEDY, ?MENANDER

29 4B.44/E(1–2)a 7.5 × 9.8 cm Third century

Written along the fibres in a brisk, good-sized Severe Style. The back is blank. Surviving upper margin of 2.5 cm. Elision marks, diaeresis; diastole in 3; no dicola visible. A correction in 7 (the ink suggests a second hand).

8–9 preserve a version of the formula which introduces the choral interlude at the end of act I in various plays of Menander; the ink surviving in 10 should probably be interpreted as a decorative flourish above a large and widely spaced *X O P O Y*. This naturally suggests Menander, unless the same wording was used by other New Comedy poets.

top

```
      ]θοτ_ . [ . . . . ] . ϲι_ 'ανητω[
      ]υνε_ [ . .] . . . . γειϲτ[
        ]νου_ . . . ιϲϲυθατ'τουθ[
      ] . οι_ . [ . . .] . . καιβαδιζ'ο[
  5   ]ωδ'_ . . . ν_ροϲαγορα[
      ]τηνιδ'_ν_προειπειν[
      ]ελλ'_ . . . ιπροϲυμαϲαυ_ . [
      ]ϲὶοντασαθροουϲορωτιν[
      ] . εινευκαιρονειναιμο[
  10    ] . [      ] . [
              .            .
```

1]θ, no elision mark visible   . [, oblique foot at line-level?, foot of long descender   ] . , ν? or αι, λι?   ι_, γ? or part of τ?   2 ε_, point at line-level   3 see commentary   4] . , remains of

tall (deep) upright on edge   οι_, speck level with foot of ι (the lower part of this letter must be narrow, to fit into the lacuna); then probably ϲ, but there may be enough damage to the right to allow a mutilated ο] . ., point on edge at line-level; foot of upright and then horizontal at two-thirds height (two letters? or combine as ε with extended cross-bar?)   5 δ'_, ε or ϲ; then part of oblique descending from left to right; then elements of ε, θ?   ν_, parts of two uprights   7 λλ, suprascript above the second lambda, a circlet (damaged at the centre, so that θ would be possible)   αυ_ [, left-hand end of high horizontal 8]ϲ, only the tips   9] . , short horizontal from left, nearly at line-level   10] . [, tiny horizontal trace, then rising oblique like acute accent   ] . [, lower arc of circle, very high in line (what?)

top

```
      ]θοτ_ . [ . . . . ] . ϲι_ 'ανητω[
      ]υνε_ [ . ] . . . . γειϲτ[
        ]νου_ . . . ιϲ ϲὺ θᾶττον θ[
      ] . οι_ . [ . . .] . . καὶ βάδιζ' ο[
  5   ]ωδ'_ . . . ν_ροϲ ἀγορα[
      ]την ἱδ'_ν_ προειπεῖν[
      ]ελλ'θ . . . . ι πρὸς ὑμᾶς αυ_ . [
   καὶ γὰρ προ]ϲιόντας ἀθρόους ὁρῶ τιν[ας
  οἷς μὴ 'νοχ]λεῖν εὔκαιρον εἶναί μο[ι δοκεῖ.
  10    ] . [      ] . [
              .            .
```

8–9 show that we are dealing with iambic trimeters, and that c. 8 letters or 3 syllables are lost at the line-beginning.

1]θοτ_ . [, the first trace looks like the foot of an upright hooked to the right at line-level, the second extends well below the line; they are spaced close together. Perhaps ε or ο followed by ι ρ υ (or presumably φ ψ)?

] . ϲι_ ', the second trace gamma or possibly tau (the surface is damaged where the left-hand end of the cross-bar would be expected). It looks as if either ϲι or αν must be a short syllable; but we see no obvious articulation. ἄν as particle or for ἐάν? ἀνῇ, cf. CGFPR 260.32? (We have not enough text to decide whether the scribe wrote iota adscript consistently; probably he did so in 7.) Hardly ἃ νὴ τὼ [θεώ; or a form of ἄνητον (this spelling unlikely in Attic). Before that, ϲὶγ' (but not attested in New Comedy)? -ϲι γ'? ϲὶτ' (i.e. ϲῖτα: but we have not found this plural in Comedy).

2 end αγειϲ [likely (rather than λγ).

3]νου_ . . . ιϲ. After υ, traces of a slightly inclined upright and another sloping more sharply down from left to right (λ, ν?); then a horizontal at mid-height, its left-hand end perhaps joining an upright; then part of an upright. ι is an upright, joined from the left by a horizontal at half-height; ει very likely. We have considered various supplements on the lines of τὸ πραχθὲ]ν οὐκ ἐρεῖς ϲὺ θᾶττον θ[(at the end a dative, e.g. Θ[αίδι? or a vocative, e.g. θ[ηρίον?). (i) οὐκ ἐρεῖς suits a familiar pattern of indignant question (cf. *Perik.* 526, *Sam.* 678–9, 719–20). But the trace tells against κ: the descending oblique is too long and steep. (ii) οὖν ἐρεῖς: ν looks possible, if a little cramped. (iii) οὐ λέγεις fits best palaeographically (there seem even to be traces of the apex of λ, hooked to the left).

With suitable supplements in 4–7, we could reconstruct the action thus: a slave instructs another character to report to a third; he himself will go to the agora (5) to warn his master (6), and will then (who

will then?) return (7). But Professor Handley points out that the general interpretation of 3 is itself uncertain; in 4–7 he suggests, with some details different from the supplements suggested below: καὶ βάδιζ᾽, ὅ[πως / [τάχιϲτ᾽· ἐγ]ὼ δ᾽ ἐλθὼν πρὸς ἀγορὰ[ν βούλομαι / [τὸν δεϲπό]την ἰδὼν προειπεῖν [ταῦθ᾽, ἵνα / [πάλιν ἐπαν]ελθεῖν ἦι πρὸς ὑμᾶς αὐτ[ίκα.

4 βάδιζ᾽ might be taken to continue the instructions from the line before, 'get a move on' (see Gomme–Sandbach on *Epitr.* 376). Alternatively (with a different speaker? no dicola can be seen, but any paragraphoi will be lost with the line-beginnings) βάδιζ᾽ ὅ[ποι / θέλεις. Before this ο[ἴμω]ζε is tempting (*Epitr.* l.c.), but the space looks a little short, even if ọ is acceptable.

5 πρὸς ἀγορὰ[ν ‾ ◡ ‾ or πρὸς ἀγορὰ[ν ◡‾. The traces would in fact suit ˣ ˙ ἐγ]ὼ δ᾽ ἐλθὼν (cf. *Asp.* 212 etc); probably θων rather than θεῖν, since the trace (admittedly very slight) looks too curved for iota.

6 E.g. τὸν δεϲπό]την (καὶ δεϲπό]την Austin, to connect the participles) ἰδὼν προειπεῖν [βούλομαι. The traces might allow ιδεῖν (but it would be a little cramped); not ιδιαν.

7]ελλ . . . ., above the second λ, a circle in thicker ink, prima facie o but damaged enough in the middle to allow θ (in which case a thickening at the middle right is the end of the cross-bar); after the second λ, prima facie η, but the left-hand upright anomalous, apparently in two movements; perhaps therefore ει, but there is no trace of the normal hook at the base of ε (the top hook might be lost in a damaged patch); then upright, a short trace rising from left to right at line level; foot of upright, upright (together η?).

Some form of (ἐπαν)ελθεῖν might suit the context; cf. Plautus, *Cas.* 526 *ego ad forum modo ibo; iam hic ero*, *Ps.* 561 *at ego ad forum ibo; iam hic ero* (Ter., *Eun.* 763–5, *Ad.* 277–86). We have considered two lines of attack: (i) ἐπαν]ελθεῖν ἦι, (ii) (a) ἐπαν]έλθηις ἦι (b) ἐπαν]έλθηις ⟦η⟧ι. (i) requires us to read ει, which is a very long shot; and does not account for oblique ink crossing the η. (ii) (a) equally assumes that the oblique ink is accidental. (ii) (b) accounts for this ink as a deletion-stroke; since the papyrus is broken above, there may have been a correction written over the line; there is no clear sign that ι too was crossed out.

αυ [, the left end of a horizontal, presumably τ. The context suggests some urgency: therefore consider αὐτ[όθεν? αὐτ[ίκα (Austin, Handley)?

8–9 'I see a crowd approaching, I think it's sensible not to get in their way.' This announces the approach of the chorus, apparently a standard feature on its first appearance at the end of Act I. See Handley on *Dysk.* 230–2, and add *Asp.*⁹ 245–9 and PKöln VI 243. 15–17. The wording of the introductory couplet varies from play to play. Here 9 is identical with *Dysk.* 232, *Epitr.* 171 (elegant variation, *Perik.* 266): in all these Menandrean examples it forms the last line of Act I. 8 has no precise parallel; the closest is *Dysk.* 230–1, where the first line begins καὶ γάρ (cf. *Asp.* 246, Alexis fr. 112. 1 KA); alternatively ὡς καί, as at *Epitr.* 169. προϲιόντας is the normal verb (*Asp.* 247, *Dysk.* 230, *Perik.* 261, Alexis l.c.); ἀθρόους corresponds to πάμπολλ᾽ (*Perik.*), ὄχλος (*Asp.*, *Epitr.*), πλῆθος (Alexis), *turbae* (Plautus, *Ba.* 107, if the emendation is accepted). Professor Handley comments: 'as elsewhere, the departing character tells his companions (and therefore us) where he is going, by way of creating anticipation for the new Act'.

Dr C. F. L. Austin draws attention to the scansion of ἀθρόους. According to the normal treatment of mute + liquid in Comedy, the first syllable should be short (as it is at *Aspis* 78 and Aristoph. fr. 642 KA); exceptions occur in elevated speech (cf. Gomme & Sandbach on *Epitr.* 324), but there is no sign of that here. He therefore suggests προ]ϲιόντας ⟨τούϲδ᾽⟩ ἀθρόους, comparing for τούϲδε … τινας *Dysk.* 230 τούϲδε Πανιϲτάς τινας.

10 The second trace is a long shallow curve, apparently free-standing. It should probably be interpreted as a decorative flourish above a large and widely spaced *X O P O Y*. (So for example in XXXIII **2656**, *Misoumenos, GMAW* no. 43.) The first traces might then be taken as the upper extremities of χ. If so, and if the flourish stood above the last letter, χοροῦ would be approximately centred on line 9. But one might expect a corresponding flourish above the first letter, and there seems to be no trace of it on a largely undamaged surface.

Alternatively, the 'flourish' might represent the flat top of an enlarged letter, i.e. Ξ. But if Κ[ΟΛΑ]Ξ was written, why a colophon after a single act? It is true that another manuscript from Oxyrhynchus, III **409** + XXXIII **2655**, does apparently contain passages excerpted from *Kolax*, and it could be guessed that in a roll of selections a play-title might follow each extract. But there is no sign of a title in what survives of that manuscript, nor any proof that it drew on more than one play. We therefore discount this possibility, especially since 8–9 so clearly announce the arrival of a chorus.

<div align="right">P. G. McC. BROWN–P. J. PARSONS</div>

4304. COMEDY

45 5B.57/H(1–3)a   8.3 × 12.3 cm   Late second/third century

An upper margin of 5.5 cm, and a small to medium-sized formal upright mixed hand of practised (though not ostentatious) elegance are signs that these remains of fifteen comic iambics come from a roll of some bibliographical pretensions. The back is blank. The handwriting may be assigned to the later second or early third century AD, in the context represented by Roberts, *GLH* nos 19a–c, and discussed by Turner, *GMAW*² 22 f., apropos of the British Museum papyrus of Bacchylides (PLond 733); Roberts 20a, the Plato, *Phaedrus*, published as **1016**, looks to be later, and a date for it later than the first third of the third century is now to be considered from evidence quoted in *GMAW*² under no. 84. There is a sheet join about 1 cm from the right edge.

It is a pity that the writing is somewhat obscured by abrasion and damage. ε, θ, o, c are typically small and narrow, and η, ν, π typically broad; the angle of the pen, at about 45 degrees, shows clearly in the pointed triangulation of α and δ, the prominent arms of κ and the sharply angular base of β; ρ has a small high loop, and φ a flattened centre. Punctuation by single point is found at some line ends; there are no other lectional signs, nor any corrections.

The lines are identifiable as iambics because the resolutions in 2 and 4, in close succession, effectively eliminate the chance of their being trochaic, the so-called 'dactylic' pattern of resolution in trochaics being extraordinarily rare throughout Attic Comedy.[1] Hard though it is to be confident over a short and broken passage like this, the frequent end-stopping, marked by a punctuation at 6, 8, 10, 11 and 12, and perhaps at 3 and 9 also, and the lack of any sign of strong internal pause or of part-division, make one think that the fragment is part of a continuous speech, and one written in a less flexible style of verse than is characteristic of Menander. The Old Attic imperfect ϲυνῆ in 3 (if that is what it is) would likewise be a surprise in Menander; but τυχόν 'perhaps', if present in 9, and γιν[- for γιγν[- in 13 (once again irritatingly ambiguous), would be equally odd in a comedy of Aristophanes' time, and point us back again towards the fourth century. These observations, though they prove nothing, may still serve to keep the mind open to the thought that we may have to do with that rarity, a papyrus fragment of a play of pre-Menandrian comedy, such as is **427**, a scrap assigned to the third century AD from the end of a roll containing Antiphanes, *Anthropogonia* (fr. 34 KA). That would be consistent with the content, in so far as it gives any clues; but the problems of being precise enough about that recall those of **3540**, assigned to the first century, a fragment of a speech which was considered in relation to Aristophanes, *Second*

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[1] Individual instances remain debatable, but with hardly more than ten or a dozen in all Attic Comedy, the chances of finding two so close are negligible; the control case is the Sicilian Doric dramatist Epicharmus, whose trochaic tetrameters have no such inhibitions. See Sandbach on Menander, *Dysk.* 774 and *Sik.* 135; Handley, *Dyskolos of Menander* 71 f. (now dated in part), with further references; and E. Wüst, *RhM* 91 (1950) at pp. 343–6 (also dated, but still usable).

Thesmophoriazusae, in spite of the presence of motifs which one would instinctively think of as later. So much that we should like to know about Greek Comedy remains undocumented.

A key point of the piece, it seems, turns on elements of the contrast between luxurious living, as typified by food and drink, and its opposite in the life of work and parsimony. Thus there is talk of eating delicately in 4, and (apparently) of eating and drinking in 6, as opposed to wearing the peasant's leather jerkin in 2, and to the sense of the adjectives φιλάργυρος and φειδωλός in 9 f. Curiously close to this, it may seem, is a motif known from a comic poet writing about the turn of the fifth century, Philyllios, and encapsulated in a single word cited in Hesychius (λ 1179 Latte) from the play *Poleis* (fr. 16 KA). λιχνοφιλάργυρος [*sic*, as in Kassel–Austin] is defined as ὁ λίχνος μέν, φειδωλὸς ⟨δέ⟩; a way in which this contrast can be made pointed in a comic narrative can be illustrated from the fourth-century dramatist Eubulus in *Pornoboskos*, fr. 87 KA:

> τρέφει με Θετταλός τις, ἄνθρωπος βαρύς,
> πλουτῶν, φιλάργυρος δὲ κἀλιτήριος,
> ὀψοφάγος, ὀψωνῶν δὲ μέχρι τριωβόλου.

That the present piece may be a personal narrative, as the fragment just quoted seems to be, is suggested by the first person verb of 4, and the possible first person verb or verbs in 1 and 3. That it contained quoted dialogue is suggested by the apparent imperatives in 6 and the other references to a second person in 7, 8, 13 and perhaps 5; that we have a story of significant action, and not simply recollective gnomologizing, is tantalizingly revealed by 7 'you are Heaven-sent', 8 'shall be settled with you' and 11 'a life-partnership'. A long prologue-speech, perhaps by a character from myth, emerges as a possibility to be considered; and it may be that something in this content, or in the detail to be examined below, will evoke a recognition or a comparison that has so far escaped notice.[2]

```
        ] .ωτουτοτουτωνδερχ. [
        ]ννπεριαψαιδιφθεραν
        ]ωισυνηκρατουμενω.
        ] .ροςωψοφ.γουνεγω
  5     ] .νλαβοντ.[. .].[.]ετει.
        ] .οςπειθικαις.[. . . .]φα. .
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[2] For the motif, see G. A. Gerhard, *Phoinix von Kolophon* (Leipzig–Berlin 1909) 59 ff.; for the type of speech (I have even wondered if the two are not the same), see PSI 1175 = Austin, *CGFP* 215, recently discussed by G. Xanthakis-Karamanos in *Proc. 20th Int. Cong. Papyrologists, Copenhagen 1992* (1994) 336–343.

```
        ] .νοιστιςηλθεςε[. ]θεων
        ] .τοιςςοιδιαλλαγηςεται·
        ] . . . .φιλαργυρον τυχο.
  10    ]αςοφειδωλοςφυςει·
        ] .ςβιουκο[. ]νωνιαν·
        ] .απητ[. . . . . .]. ·
        ]ςυγιν[
        ]ρειπ[
  15          ]υ[
            .   .   .
```

1]ν is suggested by traces of a stroke joining a vertical; abrasion and twisted fibres towards the end (where δ' might have been expected); the last is just a dot   3 Part of the upright of κ is on twisted fibres and detached; at the end, ι or punctuation possible   4]α,]δ,]λ   5] ., foot of a vertical, then ν, rather than αι: e.g. ν]υν, ς]υν-, πρ]ὶν; -ντι rather than -ντα, then probably 4 letters lost before -ετει. , the third with high ink: perhaps [νο]υ[θ]ετεῖς, -τεῖν   6–8] ., indefinite in each case   6 ?πειθι for πίθι, just a curved foot for ε; .[, high ink for υ or τ; after φα, a vertical and a round letter, partly abraded; each with a suggestion of a horizontal to make]φαγε· possible, and more likely than]φαις·   9 First two are high horizontal, then high loop, as for]τρος,]τρις,]προς; at the end, τυχόν or τύχοι·   11 ε]ὶς suits   12] ., trace of horizontal   14]β possible

```
  '. . . ] .ω τοῦτο, τούτων δ' ἔρχο[μαι
        ]νῦν περιάψαι διφθέραν
        ]ῶι ϲυνῇ κρατουμένωι
        τὸ π]άρος ὠψοφάγουν ἐγώ
  5     ] .ν λαβόντ .[. .] .[.]ετεις'.
        ] .ος 'πῖθι καὶ ϲύ, [κατά]φαγε·
        ] .νοις τις ἦλθες ἐ[κ] θεῶν
        ἐπὶ το]ύτοις σοι διαλλαγήσεται'.
        ] . . . .φιλάργυρον τυχόν·
  10    π]ᾶς ὁ φειδωλὸς φύσει·
        ε]ἰς βίου κο[ι]νωνίαν·
        ἀ]γαπητ[-        ]. ·
        ]ϲυ γιν[-
        ]ρειπ[
  15          ]υ[
```

1 Palaeographically there is nothing to choose between ἔρχο[μαι and ἔρχε[ται; but the former is suggested by the signs of a first person narrative in what follows. The] .ω may also be the end of a first person verb, like ἐπαι]γώ, but could just as well represent ἐκεί]νω⟨ι⟩ or one of several other words. I am assuming that the speaker is quoting his/her own part in a dialogue, to be answered by the other party at 6 ff.

2 With the beginning lost, we do not know on what in this line the τούτων in line 1 depends, nor for sure what part of the verb περιάψαι is, infinitive, optative, imperative. Without knowing, one can imagine a sense like 'I come prepared now to put on the leather jerkin that these people wear', supplementing with θέλων ἐμαυτῷ (or θέλουϲ' ἐμαυτῇ); but that risks being imagination and no more. The διφθέρα, a garment for work, characteristically peasants' work, stands for toil, rusticity and poverty as opposed to ease, urbanity and wealth: so at Aristophanes, *Clouds* 72, it is the dress for a goatherd as opposed to the ξυϲτίϲ, or *lacerna*, of a Megacles in his chariot; and in Menander, *Dyskolos*, it makes a symbolic as well as a visual contrast with the χλανίϲ worn by the young man from town (see 257 and 365, with the commentators on these passages).

3] ὦι cυνῇ, if rightly so read, is the first of several possible indications that the speaker is a woman who is recalling a former spouse and a former life on entering into a new one: thus (taking a clue from the reference to time past in 4) 5 may refer to τῷ τὸ πρ]ὶν λαβόντι 'my previous husband'; and the talk of an agreement in 8, of life partnership in 11, and of someone or something ἀγαπητόϲ in 12 could all be thought of as consistent with this. For cυνῇ first person, as at Plato, *Cratylus* 396d, see Rutherford, *New Phrynichus* 243: this Old Attic form of the imperfect of εἰμί is not, so far as I know, represented in Menander and New Comedy; in fifth century drama it is sometimes explicitly attested, as in Cratinus, *Pytine* 194 KA; and it is regularly accepted by editors from manuscripts, even if there is also a reluctance to displace the form ἦν systematically, for ἦν is metrically verifiable in a few places in Euripides and Aristophanes, and therefore presumably on its way towards the universal currency it eventually attained; there are particularly useful notes by Barrett on E. *Hip.* 700, MacDowell on Ar. *Wasps* 1091 and Kassel–Austin on Pherecrates, *Cheiron* 156. One can escape from this situation by supposing that cυνῇ⟨ι⟩ or cυνῇ⟨ν⟩ was intended, or by articulating as]ωι cυνηκρατούμεν, ὦι, and inventing for the purpose a new compound of ἀκρατέω; but I see no compulsion to do any of this. κρατουμένῳ presumably means 'in defeat'.

4 I suggest τὸ π]άροϲ as responding to νῦν in 2, but ὁ coβ]αρὸϲ (if the speaker is male) is among the alternatives. ὀψοφαγεῖν, of indulging in fine food, Ar. *Clouds* 983; the adj. in -οϲ appears several times in Comedy: see the general introduction above.

5 If not τῷ τὸ πρ]ὶν λαβόντι (see above on 3), one can think of other supplements both with and without the definite article, including ϲ]υν-=cυλλ-. I can give no satisfactory account of the end of the line; EGT suggested νουθετεῖϲ, but was not satisfied by it, in presenting a provisional version of the piece to a seminar at the Institute of Classical Studies in 1978.

6 Possibly ἐκεῖ]νοϲ, introducing what I take to be a quotation by the narrator. πῖθι is restored for πεῖθι in Alexis, *Tokistes* 234 KA, a quotation in Athenaeus; καταφαγεῖν and πιεῖν in collocation, Ar. *Ach.* 78, καταφαγών … ἐμπιών, Epicharmus, *Hope or Wealth* 35.7 Kai./103(b).7 Ol.; καὶ cύ with imperative 'you in your turn', as at M. *Dysk.* 134; cf. Headlam–Knox on Herondas 2.65 — i.e. in this context, it is 'join me'.

7 The structure, if not the sense, might be given by cωτὴρ cὺ πενομ]ένοιϲ: i.e. nominal subject and noun or its equivalent governed by ἦλθεϲ are apparently what is lost; ἐκ θεῶν, like *de caelo* or 'heaven-sent', need not be strictly literal: indeed the τιϲ suggests that it is not.

8 διαλλαγήϲομαι, P. *Rep.* 471a: with it one expects a personal subject, but it is not easy to see how that can have been so here; and one should perhaps think of τὸ πᾶν δ', τὰ πάντ' or something similar before the ἐπὶ τούτοιϲ suggested by EGT.

9–10 On φιλαργυρία juxtaposed to a taste for luxury, see the general introduction above. After the presumed quotation, the speaker seems to turn to moral reflection: e.g. οὕτω γάρ ἐϲτι π]ᾶc (or, more pointedly, λίχνοϲ γάρ ἐϲτι π]ᾶc).

11 cυνιέναι εἰϲ κοινωνίαν of marriage, P. *Laws* 962c; and see Sandbach on M. *Epitr.* 600/920, Kassel & Austin on Diod. fr. 3.5.

12–13 Technically ambiguous: for, if the lack of diastole is discounted, one can think of different articulations,]γ' ἀπῆτ[ε and]cύ γ', ἵν[α.

E. W. HANDLEY

4305. NEW COMEDY: (?) MENANDER, *SYNARISTOSAI*

33 4B.88/B (1–4)a   Fr. 1 9.4 × 8.4 cm   Third century

Lively comic dialogue in the style of New Comedy is recognizable in these tattered remains of lines from the top of two (or three) columns from a roll with about 2 cm of

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preserved upper margin. The script, practised rather than calligraphic, is of the same general type as that of **3967** (Menander, *Misoumenos*) and the parallels mentioned there; but it is of a more modest size, and written on the side of horizontal fibres, with the back blank, and not on the back of a document: one might guess that the roll was correspondingly of small-to-medium rather than large format.

Col. i of the larger fragment has the latter part of three verses, then an act-ending marked by *XOPOY*; then remains of ten more verses. The first three give the appearance of being somewhat longer than the rest; but they are of comparable length metrically, and with the aid of a known form of oath which can be restored in 6, it is possible to conclude that all are iambic trimeters, like the lines of col. ii and the closely uniform line-ends of the smaller piece called Fr. 2. There is nothing to show whether fr. 1 ii and the smaller piece go together, or to make possible a calculation of the original number of lines to the column. Part-division is marked by paragraphos twice in fr. 1 ii, which also has traces of a marginal speaker's name, and another one (it may be) is at the end of fr. 1 i 9; fr. 1 i twice has dicola at line-ends. There is a high point at the end of fr. 1 i 2; no other traces of punctuation or lectional aids survive, though gaps and damage may have removed some; iota in the long diphthong ηι is once written, once ignored, in a word repeated in fr. 1 i 1.

Of individual letter forms, one notes α in three strokes, with crossbar sometimes horizontal; β (fr. 1 i 3 and 8) with informal shallow bows; κ (and χ, fr. 2. 9) with narrow-angled arms; μ in three strokes, the last sometimes a shallow curve; ρ variable (e.g. fr. 2.2 and 5); and also υ (note it in fr. 1 i 3 [twice] and 4, and in fr. 2.4); φ with rounded, not flattened body. Some of these features enter into the recognition of letters that are broken.

With so short and scrappy a text, interpretation must be tentative. It can begin from the multiple oath in fr. 1 i 6–7. The speaker (call him B) strenuously affirms something which his interlocutor (C) denies, part of C's denial being represented by ἐγώ at the end of 5, which is marked off from B's outburst by the dicolon, and may well be an independent remark, 'What, me?', in which case, with a dicolon after ἀρτίωϲ, there is a lively exchange in which C speaks the beginning of 5 and B the middle. What B affirms, φήμ' ἐγώ cε καταλαβεῖν (8), on the face of it means 'I say I've caught you', but the face of it is not all there, and detailed consideration will have to recognize the potential ambiguities that incompleteness admits. It is for serious consideration that C is a woman, even if none of the four possible indications of this is documentarily certain: namely, an apparent feminine participle used by B to refer to C in 4; a possible feminine adjective with the same reference in 5; the possible speaker's name at fr. 1 i 9, and the oath μὰ τὼ θεώ, used in Attic only by women, which may be present in 10. We can perhaps add the possibility, depending on a divinatory reading in 9, that B's name is Demeas; but whether or not that is so, the working hypothesis that suggests itself is that this is a conversation between one of Comedy's Angry Old Men and a woman whom

he accuses of corrupting his son, that is a *hetaira* with whom he will have entered from one of the houses on stage at the beginning of the act: we wonder what he was doing there. The action is by now well advanced, for the previous act lacks the ending formula which by convention marks the end of Act I; and so it is no surprise, with the situation (or enough of it) known to the audience, and the characters immediately identifiable, that the new act begins without preamble, as they come on stage already engaged in their argument. With the recovery of more and more text over the last generation of scholarship, Menander's technique of linking the endings and beginnings of acts has become better known.[1] The chances are good that the situation in which B intervenes is the one referred to with recognizable dramatic irony in the act-ending given by 1–3; and that the irony is at his expense, with A and the audience knowing more than he does. In this assumed dialogue between A and B, A's identity is anyone's guess: one could think of another old man, an intriguing slave, an elderly female domestic or anyone who has, or can assume, the requisite attitude of superiority. Time will perhaps tell.

While we wait for more enlightenment, it may be worth recalling a situation similar to the one which has just been imagined, also, by bad luck, a problematical one because of fragmentary text: namely, the gappy passage of Plautus, *Cistellaria* at lines 306 ff., the play being based on the *Cυναριcτῶcαι* of Menander. Alcesimarchus' father, name not known, confronts the *meretrix* Gymnasium (Menander's Pythias), whom he finds at the door of the house Alcesimarchus has rented, and supposes that she is the girl Selenium (Menander's Plangon), who lives there with him.[2] In this comic episode of mistaken identity, Plautus makes the character a lecherous old man as well as an angry one. Judging above all by the sequence of action in which *Dis Exapaton* and *Bacchides* coincide, Plautus' capacity for altering both the characters' movements and the tone of a scene would not have been strained in transforming an action such as we imagine in the present fragment into the one fragmentarily surviving from the *Cistellaria*. That is by no means to claim that our fragment belongs to *Cυναριcτῶcαι*. The case would be strong if it were certain that Pythias is the name of a speaker at fr. 1 i 9; but the elements of comparison that can be made out may still have their value even if nothing more proves to be available to reinforce them.[3]

[1] Eric Handley–André Hurst, *Relire Ménandre* (Geneva, Droz, 1990) at pp. 130–3, referring in particular to the full study by Alain Blanchard, *Essai sur la composition des comédies de Ménandre* (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1983).

[2] Menander's names are given by the mosaic of the opening scene of the play in Chorapha, Mytilene, first published in the 1960's: S. Charitonidis–L. Kahil–R. Ginouvès, *Les mosaïques de la Maison du Ménandre à Mytilène* (*Antike Kunst, Beiheft* 6, 1970), pl. 5.1; Richard Green–Eric Handley, *Images of the Greek Theatre* (London 1995), fig. 51, with further references.

[3] It may be worth comparing the multiple oath of fr. 1 i 6–7 with *Cist.* 512 ff.

Fr. 1

col. i   col. ii

```
 ]ηο̣ φθαϲηϲανδϵφθαϲηιϲ                    . ./κ .[
 ]ιϲθ . .ρηϲμονϲοιλϵγω·                    π . .[
 ] .ζϵ .ουτονϲυνβαλων                       οργ[
 ] .   ΟΥ̅                                  . [
 ]αϲϲυπιν[ ] . .αρτιωϲ:               5    κ[
5 ]αιτι .δϵπϵι .[ ]ϵγω:                     π̅[
 ]ωτη[.] .νητ .ηλιον                        τ[
 ]ητ[. . .]π .[.]λ[.]τουτονι                πρ[
 ]φημϵ .ωϲϵκατ .[. .]βϵι .                  κα̣[
 ]ηδ[.] .ϵ .αμον .[        ]π[.]θ[    10    . [
10 ] . . . .μ .τωθ[                         .        .        .
 ]κϵ . . .ϵκρα[. .]τ .[
 ]δϵ[.]δϵνη[. .]κ .[
 ] .[.]ορμ[. .]δι[
        .        .        .        .
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Fr. 1, col. i

1 In third place, high ink as for ι or (as I take it) upper arm of υ, though one might expect to see more of either. μ]ὴ οὐ̣ (if that is to be read) would be in synizesis at the same point in the line as at S. *OT* 13 and M. *Dysk.* 152.

2 Before ρ, end of descending diagonal for χ; space and traces suggest ιϲθι rather than ο]ιϲθα.

3 Trace of a vertical before abraded ζ: i.e. -]ιζϵ, not -]αζϵ.

Interlinear *XOPOY* seems to be represented by ΟΥ̅ rather than ΟΡ̅; there is a trace of ink amidst abrasion where the *P* might have stood, but I see no sign of *OY* further right.

4 is difficult, and potentially critical for interpretation. πιν- is probably to be trusted, though there is a crack where the first upright should be; hardly τιν-; then after a gap, possibly with nothing lost, traces of high ink from one letter or more likely two; but below, displaced downwards and slightly left, is the bottom right quadrant of a curve, representing either part of a round letter or of a curved foot of a letter belonging to this line. πιν[ο]υϲ- is acceptable (for υ and ϲ note ϲυ and αρτιωϲ in this line); πινωτ- can be considered, but I do not see how to read πινωτ.

5 High ink after the supposed τι could give τη instead, but given πιν above there is probably room for τια. After ϵπϵι, next may be round rather than upright; probably nothing lost before ϵγω, unless diastole and/or dicolon.

6 Enough survives for two familiar oaths to be recognizable (see the restored version and commentary); the loss at the beginning is 12 + letters, a useful guide for the other lines, and the clearly visible displacement between ν and η in νή is a help with the reading of both 4 and 5.

7 The latter half of the line again has a recognizable oath, that by 'Apollo here', Apollo Agyieus at the house door, as discussed by commentators on M. *Dysk.* 659.

8 Right half only of φ; last stroke of μ broken away together with diastole (if any); high horizontal for γ joins presumed ω; last, trace of an upright.

9 Before ϵ, a curved stroke, lower left quadrant; after it, possibly α, δ, λ, then right-hand end of a horizontal. Last is two diverging obliques, as for λ, α; less likely δ. A sequence of words such as Δ[η]μέα γάμον (or δ[ή] μ' ἔα· γάμον), followed by λ[έγϵιϲ can be seen as a possibility.

Beyond the point where 9 should end, and clearly by their placing to be taken with this column and not the next, are what seem to be tops of two letters in a smaller size of script, probably with space for a narrow letter between them; they could represent a variant or other marginal note; or else, as I incline to take it, a speaker's name referring to a part-change within the line, as opposed to at its beginning. The first is a high narrow loop; it could represent β, ρ, or the informally made π with rounded top as seen sometimes in text-hands with cursive tendencies, but more predictably in marginalia;[4] the top of the other letter has the shape of an arch, and is more like θ than ε, ο, or ϲ. If the reading $Π[υ]θ(ίαϲ)$ could be depended on, its evidence would be of some importance, as the general remarks above have indicated.

10 μὰ τὼ θ[εώ suits (μ with shallow final curve, as in χρηϲμον, 2 above, and fr. 2.10); but with no more context than there is, the words can be articulated and restored differently.

11]κεϲ or]χεϲ, the last being a trace of a low curve; then high ink, perhaps top of ε; next perhaps ξ (there seems to be too much ink for κ, and not enough room for κκ): i.e. past tense of ἐκκράζω? At the end, little to choose between -]το and -]τε (the left-hand end of the cross-stroke of τ is detached and twisted downwards).

Fr. 1 col. ii

1 To the left of the oblique, which betokens an abbreviated speaker's name, are perhaps two faint traces of ink, the second part of an upright.

2 ποτ[can be read.

Fr. 1 col. i

$$μ]ὴ \ οὐ \ φθάϲηϲ, \ ἂν \ δὲ \ φθάϲηιϲ,$$
$$εὖ] \ ἴϲθι, \ χρηϲμόν \ ϲοι \ λέγω·$$
$$-]ιζε \ τοῦτον \ ϲυμβαλών.$$

$$XO] \quad P \quad \overline{OY}$$

$$-]αϲ \ ϲὺ \ πίν[ο]υϲ’ \ ἀρτίωϲ :$$
5 $$οὔ \ φημι. : ϲαυτὴν] \ αἰτιᾷ⟨ι⟩ \ δ’, \ ἐπεί \ ϲ’-[:] \ ἐγώ; :$$
$$νὴ \ τὸν \ Δία \ τὸν \ ϲ]ωτῆ[ρ]α, \ νὴ \ τὸν \ Ἥλιον,$$
$$νὴ \ τὸν \ Ποϲειδῶ, \ ν]ὴ \ τ[ὸν \ Ἀ]πό[λ]λ[ω] \ τουτονί,$$
$$ἐπεὶ \qquad]φήμ’ \ ἐγώ \ ϲε \ κατα[λα]βεῖν$$
$$: \ ἤδ]η, \ Δ[η]μέα, \ γάμον \ λ[έγειϲ; \qquad Π[υ]θ(ίαϲ)$$
10 $$] \ . \ . \ . \ μὰ \ τὼ \ θ[εώ$$
$$-]κεϲ \ ἐξέκρα[ξέ] \ τε[$$
$$]δε[.]δενη[..].κ.[$$
$$] \ [.]ορμ[..]δι[$$

(A: to B?) '[?I fear] you'll not make it first, but if you do [...], be sure of that, I give you an oracle: [...] as you work it out'

(*Exeunt: choral dance*)

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[4] See G. Cavallo–H. Maehler, *Greek bookhands of the early Byzantine period, AD 300–800* (BICS Suppl. 47, 1987), 5a and 5b, where PBodmer IV of Menander, *Dyskolos* is instructively paired with a document dated to AD 338 which has π both formally and informally written; for informal π in the Menander, examples are in πρᾶος, *Dysk.*, hyp. 12 and in Καλλιπ/ at 835; contrast the same *nota personae* at 775; in PBodmer XXV (the same manuscript), in the note οιδιπουνευριποδου at *Samia* 325; or in **2427** (Epicharmus, ascribed to 2nd/3rd century) in the marginal name Πυρρα, fr. 2; contrast fr. 3.

(B: ? = Demeas, 9) '[...] at a drink-party just now'
(C: ? = Pythias, 9 margin) '[I deny it.']
(B) 'But you accuse [yourself], since I ...'
(C) 'Do I?'
(B) '[By Zeus the] Saviour, by the Sun, [by Poseidon,] by Apollo here, [you do, since] I say I caught you [...].'
(C) '[So now] you're talking of marriage, Demeas?[...] by the Two Goddesses, no [...] and cried out'

1–3 These words at the end of the act may be said face-to-face by A to the person addressed, or they may be a send-off as that person goes on his way. In either case, A has a superior knowledge of the situation which the audience presumably shares; he uses it in an allusive irony which, without context, can no longer be savoured. If the situation either is or is like that of Plautus, *Cistellaria* 306 ff., as was suggested above, we can imagine that B (Demeas) has come to seek his son's mistress as a matter of urgency, wanting to break up the relationship in favour of a marriage with someone else. He has arrived at the house, and so the question whether he will 'make it first' is a live one; but if he does, A asserts oracularly, there will be some surprise in store—the outcome, as is prone to happen with oracles, could well be a reversal of what he expects. In the event, in *Cistellaria*, the old man comes from the country and finds the house; he finds there, not the girl he was looking for (whom he has not met), but a friend of hers who is temporarily looking after the place; and, while accusing the wrong person of being his son's mistress, he is eager to make love to her himself. In Plautus, with his way of eliminating act-breaks, the old man finds the woman at the house door, and in a typically Plautine passage, he is made to clarify the situation before further embroilment results (315–21); in the present fragment, if we pursue this interpretation, he is dismissed to go into the house he has come to find (by whom, we can debate with the cast-list of *Cistellaria*, if we wish), and emerges in argument with the woman. The situation in the new act will have been prepared for by what happened towards the end of the preceding one, before our fragment begins. So one might guess; but the detail is uncertain in many ways.

1 δέδοικα κἀγώ or οὐκ ἔϲτι δεῖϲαι or some other expression of a fear would seem a probable preface to the μ]ὴ οὐ (assuming that is right) and to the word play with 'being in time' or not.

2 E.g. ἕξειϲ τι νέον, εὖ] ἴϲθι; or perhaps something shorter, with εὖ τοῦτ’ ἴϲθι or ἀκριβῶϲ ἴϲθι: a livelier and more oracular paradox would be welcome.

3 E.g. ϲύ μ’ ἔνθεον νόμι]ζε. The stop at the end of 2 discourages the idea that the sense ran on. A possible supplement would be an adjective such as ἀξιόλογον; but the demonstrative τοῦτον may imply that other pronouns were present in contrast. The thought that there are obvious alternatives to νόμι]ζε, among them βάδ]ιζε (apt enough at the end of an act) or cῶ]ιζε 'remember it well', is something that makes one less than dogmatic. ϲυμβαλεῖν is used of interpreting a dream at E. *IT* 65; a μαντεία, Plato, *Crat.* 384a; an oracle, as here, Arist. fr. 532, cf. 76 [LSJ].

4 One can suggest ἐμὸν υἱὸν ἔϲχηκ]αϲ ϲύ ..., whether as question or statement of accusation; LSJ, s.v. ἔχω A.I.4 has examples of the word used of sexual partnership, with which it is worth noting here M. *Kolax* fr. 4, a list of *hetairai* ending with καὶ Ναννάριον ἔϲχηκαϲ ὡραίαν ϲφόδρα. Alternatively ἔφθειρ]αϲ (*meum quae corrumpit filium*, P. *Cist.* 317, cf. 365 f.), but the stronger word strikes me as less likely with πίνουϲ’ (if that is indeed to be read). Sandbach on *Dysk.* 240 has useful remarks on expressions of the type ἐμὸϲ υός (the presence or absence of iota need not concern us here; the metrical pattern is as at *Samia* 347). As to ἀρτίωϲ, at *Aspis* 421 ὁ λαλῶν ἀρτίωϲ ἐνταυθ’ ἐμοί refers back from early in Act III to a conversation early in the previous Act at 250–84; and so from *Epitr.* 260/436 early in Act III to the end of Act II, it being much debated whether a night is supposed to have intervened or not. What one wonders, however, is why the accusation of drinking (as opposed to corruption) was made at all, even admitting that women's fondness for drink is a perennial topic in Comedy. If the play really is *Synaristosai*, it is possible to think that Pythias is still dressed up as for the party with which the play began, and recognizably so; apart from what we know of her costume from

the surviving representations of the opening scene, at *Cist.* 306 the old man sees Gymnasium as *mulierculam exornatulam.*

5 The letters αιτια, if so read, can be noun, feminine adjective, or 2nd sing. of the verb αἰτίαομαι; the spelling in line 1 shows that the verbal form is as real a possibility as the others, and though one can construct such metrical phrases as ἔπεστιν αἰτία δ' or cὺ πάντων αἰτία δ', the words surviving from 8 strongly suggest, while not proving, that the charge is being presented as self-evident: the initial denial, οὔ φημι, and the ἐγώ, answering a remark which is resented, as (for example) at *Samia* 286, seem very much in place.

6–7 The oath of assertion by Zeus Soter is familiar in Menander from *Epitr.* 183/359 (Daos) and *Perik.* 336/759 (Pataikos); it appears also in fr. 951. 10 KT (as restored) and in Com. adesp., PSorb 72ʳ (Austin, *CGFP* 257. 107). The oath is found in combination with others in a denial at *Samia* 309–10 (Parmenon): μὰ τὸν Διόνυcον, μὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τουτονί, | μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν cωτῆρα, μὰ τὸν Ἀcκληπιόν. Examples of multiple oaths with μά, including the triple one at *Dysk.* 666 f., are quoted by Kassel–Austin on Timocles, fr. 41, where a parody of Demosthenes is in question; Sophocles, fr. 957R has a triple oath with νή; at Ar. *Frogs.* 305 ff., Dionysus insists that Xanthias swears νὴ Δία three times over. The oath itself, as these passages make plain, does not reveal whether the speaker is young or old, slave or free; it does indicate strong emotion, and that emotion is sometimes, though apparently not here, distorted or overdrawn for broad or instant comic effect. The missing god in 7 might be Dionysus, pairing with Apollo as in *Sam.* 309 above; but νὴ τὸν Ποcειδῶ is also suitable, and fits the space better.

8 as construed here, picks up 5; though in theory, with the line not complete, φήμ' ἐγώ cε καταλαβεῖν might be 'I say [he] caught you' or 'I say you caught [him]', not to digress into other possible senses of the verb. On the present interpretation, 8 may have been completed by an expression meaning 'in the house' (παρ' αὐτῷ or κατ' οἶκον or something similar),and 9 may have begun with a participle, μεθύουcαν, or—less pointedly—διάγουcαν, the construction being as at *Dysk.* 259, τὸν μὲν Γέταν οὐκ ἔνδον ὄντα κατέλαβον, but the tone more like Plato, *Apol.* 22b ὡς...ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῳ καταληψόμενος ἐμαυτόν, or *Perik.* 166/356 καταλαβεῖν τὸν μοιχὸν ἔνδον.

9 Demeas is a canonical name for the old man of Comedy who is head of a family, as in Menander's *Misoumenos, Samia, Imbrioi* and elsewhere. It appears in fr. 109, quoted as from *Dis Exapaton,* but attributed to *Second Adelphoi* by Webster, by comparison with Terence, *Adelphoe* 385 ff.; also in fr. 276, quoted from *Misogynes,* but with the variant Cίμυλε; and in unidentified plays in PArg. 53.16 (Austin, *CGFP* 252) and PPetr. 4. i. 5 (*CGFP* 244, line 326). Neither this name in the vocative, nor the supposed traces of a name in the margin, nor yet the reading μὰ τὼ θ[εώ in 10 are beyond question, but, all told, it is a reasonable guess that there is a change within this line to the presumed female partner in the dialogue. The supplement γάμον λ[έγεις; 'you are talking about marriage?' is based on γάμον λέγει τις in *Dysk.* 64: that might, I suppose (without the benefit of context), by a way of saying 'are you criticizing me as if I were married to him?', or 'are you talking about him marrying?'; but such a remark could be made, or could be taken, as one implying a more personal sexual challenge.

10 μὰ τὼ θ[εώ, if right, accompanies a further denial by the woman in the scene.

11 It is hard to escape the idea that some part of κράζω is present, but also hard to decide what part, or to see what function 'shouting' could have here. -]κεc/-]χεc suggests a 2nd person singular, but could be read as -έ c' or as a neuter adjective ending such as οὐρανόμη]κεc, δυcη]χέc; then, with both the perfect κεκρα[γ- and the pluperfect ἐκεκρα[γ- both being rather harder to accommodate palaeographically, I am taking it that the rare ἐκκράζω might be there as ἐξέκρα[-, imperfect or aorist, either 1st or 3rd person singular followed by τε or second person plural. Unhelpfully, ἐκκραγγάνω is quoted from Menander, fr. 728; more useful, perhaps, is *Samia* 364 κέκραγε γοῦν παμμέγεθες, which suggests that the quest for a neuter adjective may be on the right track. 'I cry/cried out loud' seems a most unlikely remark by either character here; 'you (pl.) cried/are crying out' would cause us to suppose that a third party intervenes and complains at the noise of the argument, like the cook Sikon, say, at *Dysk.* 621, but that would again be a shock to what seems to be developing as an interesting confrontation, and has no counterpart in the scene of *Cistellaria* which has been used as a model. It remains to suppose that 'he cried out' is being said by the woman in the scene about the man whose mistress (in our reconstruction) she is thought by 'Demeas' to be. Here *Cistellaria* gives one more clue—or one more will o' the wisp. In a scene earlier than the one we have been using, namely at 283 ff., Alcesimarchus, driven to distraction by his love affair, calls out for a servant to bring his military gear and his horse, and to call up troops. This call for arms by the lover is a motif that we know from *Samia* (658–64); but Alcesimarchus, who later plans to commit suicide like Ajax (639 ff.), has it in a highly colourful form, so

that, like Demeas shouting in the *Samia* (364, quoted above), he is thought to be out of his mind. A third person is present. Some editors and critics (not all) think it was Gymnasium (Menander's Pythias). Can it be that she was, and is recalling the scene here?

Fr. 2

```
        ]αcτε [
        ]προc [
        ]γω
        ]θυρα [
  5     ]cτοφ[
        ]ον
        ]ωτιc[
        ]ετε
        ]εγχε[
 10     ]μποτ[
        ] . . . [
        ] φοδ[
        ] . . . [
        ]ει [
 15     ] . . [
```

These line-endings have elements which might prove recognizable elsewhere, in spite of much ambiguity; their relation to fr. 1 remains unclear.

1 ἄcτεω[c suits, as in the set phrase ἐξ ἄcτεωc; or (e.g.) -]αc τέ c[οι.

2 πρόcω[suits.

3 -]γω or -]τω.

4 Probably θύραν; but could be -αι or -αc.

5 One expects εἰ]c (or πρὸ]c) τὸ φ[ῶc; but the name Ἀρι]cτοφ[ῶν is among the other and unlikelier possibilities.

7 might represent the name Φιλῶτιc (nom. or voc.), known to Comedy as the title of a play by Antiphanes and the name of a *hetaira* in Terence, *Hecyra,* adapted from Apollodorus of Carystus, as well as (possibly) from the comic fragment published as XXXVIII **2828**, where (as here) the letters can be articulated and interpreted differently.

9 Part of ἐγχέω would accord with the apparent cυ]μποτ[of 10 and the πίνουcα diagnosed in fr. 1 i 4; but there are other words to consider, apart from ἔγχοc and ἐγχέζω, which would not be expected in New Comedy: for instance ῥέγχω.

10]μποτ[, μ with shallow curved final stroke.

12] ἐφόδ[ιον (-α) or] cφόδ[ρα could be accepted.

E. W. HANDLEY

II. MYTHOGRAPHY

4306. Mythological Compendium

33 4B.86/G(1)+(1)suppl.   fr. 1 12.8 × 25 cm   First/second century

This papyrus consists of 27 fragments, the largest of which consists of two, rather damaged, columns which show the remains of lists of (1) people who were the first to sacrifice to certain gods, (2) builders of temples, (3) epithets of goddesses, (4) metamorphoses. The smaller fragments have similar contents: a list of games (frr. 3–9), a list of murderers tried on the Areopagus (frr. 10–11), and some other lists of which the contents are not altogether clear (fr. 2 ii 1–6 may be part of a list of sons of gods and mortal women, cf. perhaps also frr. 13 and 19, and frr. 6 ff. of a list of first inventors; fr. 12 ii may be part of a list of oracles). Most of the smaller fragments are still unplaced, nor is it quite clear in what order the larger fragments should come. The order adopted here is: first the two larger fragments, then the groups of fragments which belong together in certain lists, and then the rest.

Our papyrus shows much similarity with the so-called *Indices* in Hyg. *Fab.* 221–277; cf. esp. *Fab.* 225 (which, in comparison, is rather mutilated) for fr. 1 i 19 ff.; 226–232 (all lost) for fr. 2 ii 1–6; 272 (of which only the title is preserved) for frr. 10–11; 273 for frr. 3–9; 274/277 for fr. 2 ii 6 ff. For details, see the commentary. As to the light **4306** might shed on the problem of the Greek sources of Hyginus, see A. Henrichs in J. N. Bremmer, *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London/Sydney 1987) 272 n. 47: our papyrus 'disproves the theory of a Greek Hyginus, while it reinforces the assumption of one or more Greek sources for the *Indices* in Hyginus'.

We have remains of similar lists in other papyri:

(1) PStrasb. WG 332 (ii AD; ed. J. Schwartz in *Studi ... Calderini-Paribeni* (Milan 1957) II 151–6); part of this text actually overlaps with fr. 5 (but it is also clear that its contents are not identical with those of **4306**).

(2) X **1241** (ii AD): lists of librarians and military matters.

(3) PMed. inv. 123 (ii/iii AD; ed. S. Daris, *ASP* 7 (1970) 97–102): a list of the dogs of Actaeon, comparable with Hyg. *Fab.* 181.3 and 5–6.

(4) LIII **3702** (ii/iii AD): lists of Greek leaders against Troy; suitors of Penelope; story of the Danaids; Argonauts (?).

(5) PYale II 108 (ii/iii AD): list of games, comparable with frr. 3–9.

(6) PVindobGr inv. 26727 (ii AD; ed. P. J. Sijpesteijn & K. A. Worp, *CE* 49 (1974) 317–24): mythological families.

(7) **4307** below: list of mothers who killed their children; cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 239.

(8) **4308** below: list of sons of gods and mortal women; cf. Hes. *Th.* 975 ff.; Hyg. *Fab.* 233 (?).

(9) PMilVogl III 126 (iii AD): list of Zeus' mistresses and their sons; cf. L. Salvadori, *RFIC* 113 (1985) 174–81.

(10) LXI **4097** (ii AD): lists of Argonauts etc.

(11) LXI **4098** (iii AD): list of people killed by Heracles.

(12) LXI **4099** (i BC/i AD): lists of epigonoi, Moirai, Charites etc.

Cf. also *TAGP* Taf. II; PHarris 49; PCornell 55; PHaun I 7 col. ii; PBerol 13044; PHib II 186. In known authors we may compare the lists in Arist. frr. 637–44 Rose (from his *Peplos*), Plin. NH VII 191 ff. (list of inventors) etc. Cf. in general Regenbogen in *RE* XX 1466 ff. (s.v. *Πίναξ*); Henrichs op. cit. 248 ff. During the Hellenistic age the genre had evidently become very popular.

The papyrus is written in a rounded upright capital of medium size, rather informal and generally bilinear, though φ projects above and below the line and ι, ρ and τ are a little longer. I have assigned it to i/ii AD because of comparable hands in XVIII **2161** (Aeschylus, ii AD) = *GMAW* 24 (more formal and rounded) and PLitLond 6 (*Iliad*, i AD) = Seider II 21, Taf. XI (more irregular). Punctuation is sometimes indicated by blank space, eg. fr. 1 i 6, 13, 19, ii 17, 22. A coronis (and forked paragraphos) in the left-hand margin marks off sections opposite fr. 1 ii 15 ff. (with *ekthesis* of one letter in 18), fr. 2 ii 5 ff. and fr. 17 ii 1 ff.; remains of paragraphos only: fr. 1 i 19, fr. 5 ii 1; paragraphos between items in a list: fr. 3a.4, 9. There are some line fillers (〉): fr. 1 i 17, 19, fr. 2 i 2, fr. 5 i 7. Letters are sometimes written *supra lineam*, either as an abbreviation at the end of a line (fr. 1 i 7, 28, ii 24) or—presumably—to indicate a correction or variant reading (fr. 1 i 14 and 26, both with a short line or dot to the left). The column-height was at least 32 lines (cf. fr. 1 i); the width of the lines c. 21 letters.

I am grateful to J. N. Bremmer, A. Henrichs and M. E. van Rossum for advice and suggestions.

Fr. 1 col. i

```
    .    .     .    .    .
                              ] . [
                         ] . [ . ] . .
                         ]δεεν
                         ] . ωι
5                        ]ουεν
                    ] .    κεκροψοδι
                                 ͨ
    . ] . . κλ[ . . . ]ϲεναθηναι
             ῾
    . ] . ειαρκ[ . ] . διοϲκαιϙ . λ
    . ] . ουϲ . [ ]αρκαδιαιαρειεν
10  ] . αλιωιϲ . . θαιπρωτονε
    ]θυϲ[ . ]ν[ . ] . ροδιτη . φ . [ . . . ] . . [
```

]ενκυθηρ ις αρτεμιδιηε
]φε ιωνπολις ηφαιστωι
       τ[.]
  ..] .[.]ς αρισινεπ κλης
15 ...]εισουε αρ ορωδι
]ονυς καιηρακλεικαδμος
 .] ηβαις ενιοιδεφασιν >
 ....] ακ .[.]θυσαι .[
] ο[........] οιδε >
20]πρω[........]εωνιδ .[
]σαν[....]διοσολυμπ[.]ον
      ε
]πρωτ .[....]οδο ησανπε[
]ασγοσε[...]καδιαιτονδι[
]στουλυκαιουονομαζ[
25]ενονδευτερονδευκα
      α
]ωνθετταλοσενδειωι
]. ςμακε[..]νιαστριτος
]ελιασ ενδ[.]....αιτη[.].ω
]ελασγωνχ ρασηρασφο
30 ...]νε[.]ςενπροσυμνητης
...].ιασενσα[.]ωιη .[.].α
...]σαφορων .[.].[....].

Fr. 1 col. ii

  ..[
(2 lines lost)

 ....].. [
5 .[.......]εμ[...].[
..[.].ις ησπ .[.]νια[
λευκοσπαιωνοθενη[
δοςιχμαιηντηνθεονπ[
αγορευειεντουτοισιχμα[

10 θετιδοσκαιαγαστονος μ[
.[.].[.]...[.] θηνα[.]ερεχθευ[
.]ουγλαυκωπ[
.[....]θενγλαυκωπιντη[
......].ρ.[.]λ.[.]ειεν..[
15 .] ςδειγονυποκλαγγ .[
γ[.]κωπιδοσοβ[.]..π[
.τ.[.]ς οιδε εγονταιμετ[
λαξαιτηνθνητηνφ.[
καλλ[.] τουντη υκαον[
20 αρκ[....]θειταιγ[.].ςθαι[
..[...]ο.[.]ωιουρανιε[
.τ[.].τ ν ιουνδετηνι
να.[.]βουνγενεσθαιοθεν[
βοο.π.οσεκληθ.[.].οκν[.]
25 καιφιλομηλανταςπανδ.[
ονοςμυθειταιγενεσθαιπ.ο[
κ.ηνμ[.].αηδονα[
μηλανδεχελειδονα[

Fr. 2   col. i   col. ii

]ην..[   ]ωνιδος[
]ων >[   ].ερμου[
]δνα   πηςτης....[
]θεν.   ...εουστροφ.ν[
5]   λωνος ξιοκας ης.[
]   [γινους οιδεπρωτοι[
]   ...]. τεδε ξανα.[
]ηικο.   εθυονδετοπρωτο.[
                               δευτερον[.]βοαγρια[
10   ....].δρυο[....]να.[
                               .....]ρ.[.......].[

Fr. 3 (a+b+c)

Fr. 3a

.   .

       ]τ[

         ]...[

.[..].αλης.[

κο[..].ν.[.]κ.[

5 τεροϲαγων[

..[.]με.[...]..[

θη.ενεριχ.[

ηφαιϲτουκ.[

εντωιαγων[

10 τριτοϲαγων.[

κενδαναοϲ[

.   .   .

Fr. 3b

.   .

    ].νεθ.[

    ]αργ.[

]ωντωνθυγατ[

].. υ τεταρτ[

5   ]...ο.[

    ].λειτ.[

    ].νε.[

    ]εναιον[

(1 line lost?)

10   ]..[

.   .

Fr. 3c

.   .   .

].ω..αμ[

].αυτ.[

    ].....[

    ]..α.κα[

5   ]αια.π[

    ].νι[..]..[

]κενα-κα[.].[..].π[

  ].ρουϲτηϲϲαλμω[

    ]ϲευαδν.[

10   ].ο..[.]..θ.[

.   .

Fr. 4

.   .   .

....[

ρεουδια[

δαρεω.[

]ηϲτ.[

.   .

Fr. 5 (a+b)

Fr. 5a col. i   col. ii

. . .   . .

                  ]...[

      ].   ]......η[

].ειδελυ   ]...επιπα[

]αικαβελ   ταεντροια[

].υιππωι 5 ωϲαρματι.[

5]αρμα   τουδρομον[

].κου   αιαϲτελαμω.[

Fr. 5b].υρυτ.[...]ε..ιοϲπ.[

].....μ..[....]...ομη.[

]ο.[10 ....].τελα[

                 ....]με.[

. . .   . .

Fr. 5c

```
      .   .   .
        ]...[
        ].ϲε.[
    ]νοϲπ.[
        ]..πη..[
5        ]λ[
      .   .   .
```

Fr. 5d

```
      .   .   .
    ].μηδ.[
     ]ϲϲε[
```

Fr. 6

```
      .   .   .
    ]..[.]ϲθ.ω.[
    ]τωιαθαμαν.[
```

Fr. 7 (a+b)

Fr. 7a

```
      .   .   .
        ]..[
        ].π[
        ]ει.[
        ].α.[
5        ]..[
    ]αγωνον[
    ]πιπελο.[
      .   .   .
```

Fr. 7b

```
      .   .   .
        ]..[
    ]αλκμην[
    ]δο[.]ϲα.ω[
    ]εαιεπαρ.[
      .   .   .
```

Fr. 8

```
      .   .   .
        .[
    ωιππω.[
    διοϲϲ..[
        .....[
      .   .   .
```

Fr. 9

```
    ].υδιϲκ[
```

Fr. 10

```
      .   .   .
        ]..[.].[
    ]ντοπρωτονα[
    ]εναρειωιπα.[
    ]ϲαρειπροϲ.[
5    ].κτεινα..[
      .   .   .
```

Fr. 11

```
    ]...[.]..[
    ]γατεραα[
    ].οϲαγω.[
    ]ναιϲεν.[
```

5　　　　]..τωι.[
　　　　]κτειναν[
　　　　]...ου..[
　　　　]παλαμο[
　　　　]εγενετο[
10　　　]ρειωιπαγ.[
　　　　].......[
　　　　]..ταιμη[
　　　　]εως.η.[
　　　　].ωνε[
15　　　]ων.[
　　　　]...[

Fr. 12　　　col. i　　　　　　　　　　col. ii

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　μει.[
　　　　　]ακ..[]ϲ　　　].ολ[
　　　　　]*.γη[　　　　].. [.]ν[
　　　　]..κα.ο　　　　..]η..[
　　　　　].α.[　　　5　..νγε.[
5　]..[.].ενηρα　　　βαδεια[
　　　].ονυϲου　　　μαν.ε[
　　　　]κληϲ 〉　　　].π.[
　　　　].. [　　　　　].[

Fr. 13

　　　　].ιονε[
　　　　].νω[
　　　]ονεντ.[
　　　　].ουτ.[
5　　　]μιθε.[
　　　]ηλθ.ν[

Fr. 14

　　　]..αχ.[
　　　].ντα[.]δ....ετυμο[
　　　].χ.ν[.].ϲ..α.δη[

Fr. 15

　　　]..ναπ.[
　　　]ων[.]μα[
　　　]κυ.[.].[

Fr. 16

　　　]..ιδεα.[
　　　].κ.[
　　　]διοϲ..[
　　　]...υ[

Fr. 17 col. i　　　　　　　　col ii

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　.[
　　　].λη.[　　　　εις.[
　　　].. [　　　　ρ.κ.[
　　　].ντ[　　　　διο.[
　　　　　　　　5　].. [

Fr. 18

　　　].. [
　　　].ν.ρ.[
　　　].ηϲα[

Fr. 19

```
  .        .      .
 οϲ .[ . ] . [
 ωαϲ . . [
 ] . [
          .
```

Fr. 20

```
     .         .      .
   ] . . χια . [
   ] . υπ[ . ] . [
          .
```

Fr. 21

```
       .       .
     ] . [
   ]ρκα . ν . [
```

Fr. 22

```
         .       .
     ] . [ . ] . [
     ] . ιη . [
       ] . αν[
```

Fr. 23

```
       .         .
     ] . . [
   ] . . . ε . . . [
       ] . [
       .         .
```

Fr. 24

```
         .        .
       ] . εν . [
     ] . ο[ . ] . . [
       ] . η . . [
     ]αιο . δ[
       .        .
```

Fr. 25

```
       .         .
     ] . εν[
     ] . ετ . [
       ]α . . [
     ] . . [
```

Fr. 26

```
         .        .
       ] . [
     ] . ιαι . [
       ] . . [
         .        .
```

Fr. 27 (?)

(upper margin?)

```
     ]δ[
       .
```

Fr. 1 col. i

1] . [, slightly rounded upright trace   2] . [, bottom of ω or end of oblique + rounded letter] . ., speck; long vertical trace and horizontal ink to left (ψ fits)   4] ., wide μ or 2 triangular letters 6] ., vertical and speck to the left (mid-height)   7] ., vertical; rounded base   8] ., end of oblique   ] ., speck   after κ: triangular letter   9] ., τ or γ   [, specks   10] ., top right of letter   ., top of vertical; bottom of vertical   11] . [, top of vertical   ] ., rounded trace   φ . [, foot of vertical; specks (ο ?)   ] . . [, out of alignment: vertical + oblique trace to right (κ fits); left part of rounded letter (φο[ωι]κϵ[ϲ fits)   12 ., ο or α   13 ., speck   14] . [, speck (left part of μ consistent); left part of ν likely   ., specks on edge which fit χ   after π foot of vertical   supralinear `τ[ . ] .`, after gap top right of small rounded letter (if not, the κ below would be unusually high)   15 ., slightly rounded vertical (ν ?)   after αρ υ or κ (or vertical + rounded letter); rounded top (?); top of vertical + end of oblique (μ ?)   16 ., specks on edge of gap   17] ., tops of letters   18] ., specks (part of vertical and loop of ρ ?)   . [, oblique; top left of rounded letter (η]ρακλϵ[ι fits exactly) . [, δ or α; specks (tops of 2 verticals?)   19] ., μ would fit   ] ., right part of υ most likely   below 19: right end of paragraphos   20 . . [, feet of vertical   22 . [, speck at bottom   ., specks on edge of gap   above α a faint supralinear ϵ   22 f. the text on displaced fibres is probably from the end of these lines   23 second ϲ corrected from γ   27] ., vertical on edge   28] . . ., feet of letters] ., horizontal top   29 . ., specks on edge   31] ., horizontal top   . [, vertical (top may point to ρ); steep oblique   ] ., right end of triangular letter   32 . [, rounded letter   ] . [, little hook as on top of κ (perhaps some faint ink to the left)   ] ., bottom of vertical.

Fr. 1 col. ii

1 . . [, vertical; beginning of oblique   4] . . . [, flat base (so δ or ζ); rounded base; vertical trace on edge   5 . [, triangular letter or μ (on displaced papyrus)   ] ., rounded top   6 before ιϲ specks . . [, feet of letters;] ., end of oblique ?)   above ϲ supralinear ink (end of oblique + bottom of rounded letter?)   τ: or γ ? αι, top of triangular letter; vertical   8 ., trace at bottom (beginning of oblique + horizontal base: δ ?)   10 ., triangular letter   11 . [.] . [.] . . . [.] . ., tops of letters (φ[ι]τ[ρ]ιτη[.] fits nicely)   13 . [, left part of horizontal top: τ (or π) likely   14] ., vertical (+ remains of crossbar?)   . [, left part of rounded letter   ., rounded letter   . [, specks + vertical (τ ?); specks on edge   15] ., upright; . [, vertical   16 ., speck   ] ., top of vertical (?); rounded top   part of λ in ekthesis (18) and coronis on loose piece of papyrus   17 . [, speck at bottom (foot of vertical)   ., α or λ   18 . [, trace consistent with top of left part of υ   19] ., speck   ., vertical; oblique (above it: supralinear dot with left part of triangular letter or μ or ν)   20] ., top of right end of fork (υ ?)   ] ., top of rounded letter   21 . . [, steep oblique; rounded trace at bottom 22 ., rounded top   ] ., speck at mid-height   ., trace and space suggest ω or [ι]ο or [ρ]ο   23 . [, oblique trace at bottom   ] ., foot of vertical   24 ., rounded trace   ., feet of letters only   . [, vertical   ] ., right part of loop   25 ., foot of vertical   26 ., foot of vertical   27 ., foot of vertical   ] ., tops of verticals.

Fr. 2 col. i

1 . . [, top of rounded letter; speck   4 after ν there is a muddle in the margin (oblique trace with ink below and a great deal of dirt)   8 ., long descender.

Fr. 2 col. ii

2] ., speck at mid-height   3 . . . . .] ., tops of letters (vertical; vertical + top of oblique [κ ?]; top of triangular letter; speck; vertical: ικαρι[ου would fit)   4 . . . ., left part of rounded letter; speck at bottom; oblique trace (top)   ., bottom only   5 ., specks (ϵ fits)   ., foot of vertical   . [, bottom of upright   7] . [, speck at top of gap   ] ., top of oblique (υ, κ, χ); top of triangular letter   ., vertical   . [, remains of vertical on edge   8 . [, vertical   9 ., rounded base   10] . ., 2 triangular letters (αλ or λα)   . [, vertical trace on edge (top suggests ν)   11 . [, top of vertical   ] . [, foot of vertical sloping to right, with curl or beginning of oblique.

Fr. 3a

2] . . . [, feet of letters (vertical; slightly sloping trace; beginning of triangular letter)   3 . [, vertical trace (+ horizontal top, so π or γ ?)   ] ., two vertical traces (curl on second: π likely)   . [, rounded letter

4]., slightly sloping vertical on edge   .[, rounded letter (?)   after κ: triangular letter   6 .[, triangular letter; foot of vertical with curl to left and specks to right (ν ?)   .[, top of oblique+speck at bottom and top of vertical (ν likely)   ]. .[, three vertical traces   7 ., vertical   .[, bottom and top of rounded letter   8 .[, beginning and top of oblique (steep α ?)   10 .[, speck near top of ν.

Fr. 3b

1]., speck at bottom (ο consistent ?)   2 ., rounded letter   4]. ., triangular letter; rounded letter   5]. ., horizontal top; speck; before ο, ζ might fit   .[, vertical trace bending to left at top (ν ?)   6]., speck (end of oblique ?)   .[, triangular letter   7]., right part of ω ?   .[, γ or π   10]. .[, speck (top of letter, e.g. ε); top of vertical or left part of ω.

Fr. 3c

1]., part of descender   ., ν or ρ; foot of vertical   2]., ν or oblique+ι   .[, speck   3]. .[, rounded letter; top and foot of vertical (ν ?); rounded letter; specks (rounded letter and part of horizontal or rounded top ?)   4]. ., medial horizontal joining vertical (η ?); rounded letter   ., upright (tiny speck to right may point to ρ)   6]. ., two rounded letters   .[, foot of descender; vertical trace (bending to right)   7].[, speck   ]., top of ο or θ   8]., top of ν   9 .[, speck (part of vertical ?)   10]., τ or γ (right end of horizontal)   .[, specks   ]. ., speck (top); horizontal top (τ or γ or ς)   .[, high speck.

Fr. 4

1 . .. .[, feet of letters (βορε[fits exactly)   3 .[, rounded letter (left part)   4 .[, top left of ν.

Fr. 5a

col. i 1]., rounded trace at bottom   2]., vertical   4]., long vertical leaning backwards, close to ν (too close to be an ordinary letter; different colour ?)   6], oblique ?
col. ii 1]. .[, vertical trace; ε or ς; slightly sloping vertical; below the first letter remains of a small forked paragraphos   2 feet of letters: rounded base; foot of vertical; two rounded bases; small curl at bottom; vertical; specks (end of oblique ?)   3]. .., remains of horizontal top; speck at bottom; top of vertical   5 .[, bottom of ο or θ; trace consistent with left end of δ   7]., slightly sloping vertical trace   8]., top of vertical and top right of letter: πε just possible   .[, top of triangular letter   9]. ..[, traces on loose projecting fibres (rounded top ?; speck [mid-height]; vertical)   .[, trace at bottom (δ consistent)   10]., specks (right part of ς ?)   11 top left of μ or ν (ν perh. preferable because of spacing).

Fr. 5b

1]., rounded trace at bottom   .[, rounded letter joined to τ   2]., speck on edge   . ., rounded trace; vertical   ., rounded letter; top of ν fits   3 .[, speck at top.

Fr. 5c

1]. ..[, rounded trace at bottom; slightly sloping vertical; rounded letter   2]., ς (or ε)   .[, long vertical (ν or κ)   3 .[, vertical+specks to right (ν fits)   4]., right part of ο (?) and specks to left (vertical?)   .. [, vertical; speck   5].[, triangular letter.

Fr. 5d

1]., specks (top of ο fits)   .[, vertical with medial horizontal joined to it (η fits).

Fr. 6

1] .[, horizontal trace and speck on displaced fibre, which need not belong here   ., speck at bottom .[, vertical   2 .[, vertical.

Fr. 7a

1]. .[, ιδ or κ   2]., speck   3 .[, specks   4]., τ or γ   .[, medial horizontal   5]. .[, top and foot of ρ likely; specks (oblique ?)   7 .[, π or γ.

Fr. 7b

1]. .[=fr. 7a, 7 ιπ   3 ., foot of vertical   4 .[, high trace, probably consistent with steep top left of χ.

Fr. 8

1 .[, speck (beginning of oblique ?)   2 .[, vertical trace   3 .[, horizontal top; speck (part of oblique ?)   4 . ...[, indefinite ink on edge of gaps; low horizontal or rounded trace+specks to right; left part of rounded letter.

Fr. 9

]., rounded letter.

Fr. 10

1]. .[, bottom of ο, θ or ω; vertical   ].[, trace at bottom (ς or ε+part of foot of next letter ?)   2 ., specks suggest ν+supralinear ink   3 ., γ or π   4 .[, vertical+horizontal top to right (γ, π or ι.)   5]., specks (part of oblique)   .[, top and foot of vertical; specks (tops of letters) (ν .[fits).

Fr. 11

1]. ..[, two vertical traces (π, η ?); vertical with curl at top (ρ ?); oblique trace   ]. .[, two vertical traces   3]., τ or γ   .[, vertical trace on edge   4 .[, speck (top of letter ?)   5]. ., speck (top of letter); top of fork of ν (?)   .[, foot of vertical   7]. .., upper parts of letters: two triangular letters (λα vel sim.); probably μ   .[, vertical+specks to right (κ ?); top of vertical or steep oblique   10]., loop of ρ fits   .[, left part of rounded letter   11]. .. .., two rounded letters; bottom of μ (?); the merest specks   .[, top of vertical   12]., foot of slightly sloping vertical (λ unlikely); specks (oblique ?) (perh.]ν instead of]..)   13 after ς: τ or γ   .[, specks   14]., horizontal top   15 .[, vertical+medial horizontal to right of it (η likely)   16]. .[, triangular letter (?); speck; horizontal top.

Fr. 12

col. i 1 . .[, foot of vertical (space points to ι); rounded letter   2]., triangular letter   3]. ., speck (end of oblique ?); vertical (space suggests ι or ρ, not ν)   ., vertical trace (ι likely)   4]., μ or right part of ω   .[, speck   5]. .[, rounded base+specks above (ε or θ); vertical trace   ]., horizontal trace+specks above (κ ?)   6]., part of vertical   8]. .[, top of triangular letter (?); specks (top of ν ?).
col. ii 1 .[, λ or μ   2]., end of oblique (or part of κ)   3]. .[, puzzling traces (oblique crossed by another oblique, with little curl to left at top: υ, κ, χ or ρ might fit); top of ο or θ)   4 . .[, vertical; beginning of oblique   5]. ., foot of slightly sloping vertical; oblique   .[, vertical trace on edge   7 ., horizontal top   8]., specks   .[, speck on edge (top of vertical)   9].[, speck.

Fr. 13

1]., vertical with curl to right at foot (π ?)   2]., vertical with curl at bottom (π ?)   4]., top of vertical   .[, rounded letter   5 .[, rounded letter   6 ., rounded letter.

Fr. 14

1]. ., γ or τ; then top of rounded letter   .[, ε or θ   2]., speck (mid-height)   . .. ., foot of vertical; curl at bottom+speck to left (mid-height); vertical with curl to left at foot; foot of sloping vertical (+specks at top)   3]., rounded letter   ., rounded letter   ]., right part of rounded top   after ς: rounded letter; top of vertical   after α: faint vertical; out of alignment: horizontal+foot of vertical (ν or η ?).

Fr. 15

1] . ., a, λ or μ; vertical (ι fits space)   [, perh. part of top and bottom of steep α or λ   3 . [,
top of letter (oblique ?)   ] . [, oblique or rounded trace.

Fr. 16

1] . ., rounded trace at bottom; rounded letter   . [, slightly sloping vertical   2] . , rounded
letter   . [, triangular letter (α ?)   3 ιδ[or κ[4] . . ., horizontal top + vertical trace at right
(π likely); vertical (?); top of triangular letter.

Fr. 17

col. i 1] . , end of oblique (or ε or c)   . [, rounded trace on edge   2] . [, specks and rounded
trace at bottom; supralinear dot above left part of second letter   3] . , top of triangular letter.
col. ii 1 in margin before 1–2 traces which may be part of a coronis   . [, horizontal trace (perh.
paragraphos)   2 . [, speck (top of letter)   3 traces consistent with ρακλ[4 . [, speck (mid-
height)   5] . . [, vertical bending backwards; speck on loose fibre.

Fr. 18

1] . [, two rounded bases   2] . , end of oblique   . , rounded letter   . [, part of oblique
3] . , γ or τ.

Fr. 19

1 . [, foot of vertical   ] . [, specks   2 . . , vertical; beginning of oblique (or both traces part
of κ)   3 speck at mid-height + small oblique trace at bottom.

Fr. 20

1] . ., beginning of oblique; speck and slightly rounded trace at mid-height (part of κ ?)   . [, vertical
trace   2] . , top of triangular letter (?)   π[: or γ + rounded letter   ] . [, speck at bottom.

Fr. 21

1] . [, part of rounded letter   2 . , triangular letter   . [, vertical.

Fr. 22

1 specks (feet of letters)   2] . , end of oblique   . [, high specks   3] . , vertical bending to
right at top.

Fr. 23

1] . [, vertical trace; beginning of δ (?)   2] . . ., end of ε, c or oblique; ω likely; vertical   . . . [,
four vertical traces   3] . [, rounded trace.

Fr. 24

1] . , rounded trace at bottom   . [, π or γ   2] . , horizontal joined to ο   ] . . [, medial horizontal
joined to left part of rounded letter (?)   3] . , end of oblique   . [, vertical; specks   4 . , bottom
of rounded letter.

Fr. 25

1] . , long descender   2] . , vertical bending to right at bottom (μ ?)   . [, tops of two verticals
3 . . [, speck (top of letter); faint traces   4] . [, tops of letters: vertical and oblique.

Fr. 26

1] . [, foot of vertical (curled to right)   2] . , triangular letter (α or λ)   . [, beginning of steep
oblique   3] . . [, top of triangular letter; top of vertical (?).

Fr. 1 col. i

.   .   .   .   .

                        ] . [
                     ] . [.] . .
                     ]δεεν
                     ] . ωι
5   ]ουεν
                ] . Κέκροψ ὁ δι-
          φυ]ὴς κλ[. . .]c ἐν Ἀθήναιс
          . .] . ει Ἀρκ[ὰ]c Διὸс καὶ Καλ-
          λιc]τοῦс ἐ[ν] Ἀρκαδίαι· Ἄρει Ἐν-
10   υαλίωι Cκύθαι πρῶτον ἔ-
          θυc[α]ν· [Ἀ]φροδίτηι Φο[ίνι]κε[c
          ἐν Κυθήροιc· Ἀρτέμιδι ἡ Ἐ-
          φεcίων πόλιc· Ἡφαίcτωι
          Λῆ]μν[ο]c· Χάριcιν Ἐτεοκλῆc
15   Κηφ]{ε}ιcοῦ ἐν αρ . . . ορω· Δι-
          ονύcωι καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ Κάδμοc
          ἐ]ν Θήβαιc· ἔνιοι δέ φαcιν
          . . . . . . Ἡρακλε[ῖ] θῦcαι δ . [
          ] . ο[. . . . .] . οἵδε
20   πρῶ[τοι βωμοὺc θ]εῶν ἵδρυ-
          cαν· [βωμὸν] Διὸc Ὀλύμπ[ι]ον
          πρῶτο[ν ὠικ]οδόμηcεν Πε-
          λ]αcγὸc ἐ[ν Ἀρ]καδίαι τὸν Δι-
          ὸ]c τοῦ Λυκαίου ὀνομαζ[ό-
25   μ]ενον, δεύτερον Δευκα-
          λί]ων Θετταλὸc ἐν Δ{ε}ίωι
          τ]ῆc Μακε[δο]νίαc, τρίτοc
          ]ελιαc ἐν Δ[ω]δώναι τῆ[c] τῶν
          Πελαcγῶν χώραc· Ἥραc Φο-
30   ρω]νε[ὺ]c ἐν Προcύμνηι τῆc
          Ἀρ]γείαc, ἐν Cά[μ]ωι Ἥρα[c] . α
          . . .]cα Φορων . [.] . [. . . .] .

Fr. 1 col. ii

   .   .   .   .   .

  . . [

(2 lines lost)

  . . . .] . . [

5 .[. . . . .]εμ[. . .] ἐ[ν

Ἴχ[μ]αις τῆς Παι[ο]νία[ς

λευκὸς Παίων, ὅθεν Ἡ[σίο-

δος Ἰχμαίην τὴν θεὸν π[ροσ-

αγορεύει ἐν τούτοις " Ἰχμα[ίης

10 Θέτιδος καὶ ἀγάστονος Ἀμ[-

φ[ι]τ[ρ]ίτη[.]"· Ἀθηνα[. .] Ἐρεχθεὺ[ς

. .]ου γλαυκωπ[

.[. . . . ὅ]θεν γλαυκῶπιν τὴ[ν

θεὸν Ὅμ]ηρο[ς] λ.[.]ει ἐν το[ύ-

15 το]ις "δεινὸν ὑπὸ κλαγγῆ[ς

γ[λαυ]κώπιδος ὀβρ[ι]μοπ[ά-

τρ[η]ς"· οἵδε λέγονται μετ[αλ-

λάξαι τὴν θνητὴν φύ[σιν·

Καλλ[ι]στοῦν τὴν Λυκάον[ος

20 ἄρκ[τον μ]υθεῖται γ[εν]έσθαι[

. .[. . . .]ο.[. τ]ῶι οὐρανῶι ε[

.τ[. . .].τ.γ· Ἰοῦν δὲ τὴν Ἰ-

νάχ[ο]υ βοῦν γενέσθαι, ὅθεν

Βοὸς Πόρος ἐκλήθη· [Π]ρόκν[η]ν

25 καὶ Φιλομήλαν τὰς Πανδί-

ονος μυθεῖται γενέσθαι Πρό-

κνην μ[ὲ]ν ἀηδόνα, [Φιλο-

μήλαν δὲ χελ{ε}ιδόνα[

Fr. 2 col. ii

   .   .   .   .

    ]ωνιδος[

   ]. Ἑρμοῦ [ἐκ Πηνελό-

πης τῆς Ἰκαρί[ου

. . .εους· Τροφών[ιος Ἀπόλ-

5 λωνος ἐξ Ἰοκάστης .[

γινους· οἵδε πρῶτοι [

. . .]. κατέδειξαν Ἀρ[κάδες

ἔθυον δὲ τὸ πρῶτον [

δεύτερον [δ]ὲ βοάγρια [

10 . . .]. δρυο[. . . .]να [

. . . . .]ρ.[. . . . . . .].[

   .   .   .   .

Fr. 3 (a+b+c)

   .   .   .   .

     ]τ[

      ]. . .[

  .[. .]παλης.[

κο[. .].ν.[.]κ.[δεύ-]

5 τερος ἀγὼν [

  .[.]μεν[. . .].[ὃν ἔ-]

θηκεν Ἐριχθ[όνιος

Ἡφαίστου κ.[

ἐν τῶι ἀγῶν[ι

10 τρίτος ἀγὼν .[   ] ὃν ἔθη[-

κεν Δαναὸς [ἐ]ν Ἄργε[ι

διὰ] τῶν γάμων τῶν θυγατ[έ-

ρω]ν αὐτο[ῦ . . . .].υ· τέταρτ[ος

ἀγ]ὼν . . .[. . . ἐν Τρα]πεζοῦ[ν-

15 τι τ]ῆς Ἀρκα[δίας . . .].λειτ.[

Λύκ]αια· π[έμπτος ἀγ]ὼν ε.[

   ].νι[.].[. . . .]εναι ὃν [

ἔθη]κεν Ἄκα[c]τ[ος] ὁ Π[ελίου

τοῦ Τ]υροῦς τῆς Cαλμω[ν]έω[ς

20   ]ς Εὐάδνη[ς

   ].ο.[.].θ.[

   .   .   .   .

Fr. 4

.   .   .   .

[Ζήτης]
Βορέ[ου δόλιχον Κάλαις Βο-
ρέου δία[υλον Κάστωρ Τυν-
δάρεω ς[τάδιον Πολυδεύ-
κ]ης Τυ[νδάρεω πυγμὴν

.   .   .   .

Fr. 5 (a+b+c+d)
Col. i

.   .   .   .

                          ].
            ἀποκτεί]νει δὲ Λύ-
κον   Θρ]ᾶικα Βέλ-
λεροφόντης Γλαύκ]ου ἵππωι
κέλητι Ἰόλαος   ] ἅρμα-
τι τελείωι Ἴφικλος Φυλ]άκου
συνωρίδι πωλικῆι] Εὔρυτο[ς
Ἑρμοῦ τόξωι Αἰνεύ]ς Ἑρμοῦ
σφενδόνηι Κέφαλος Δηι]όν[ος
δίσκωι]

.   .   .   .

Col. ii

.   .   .   .

]...[
].......η[
]... ἐπὶ Πα[τρόκλωι
τα ἐν Τροία[ι Δι]ομήδη[ς Τυδέ-
ως ἅρματι Ὀδ[υ]ςςεὺς [Λαέρ-
του δρόμον [Ὀδυ]ςςεὺ[ς καὶ
Αἴας Τελαμῶνος πυ[
....] Ἐ[π]ειὸς Πανοπηι.[
....]. Διομήδ[ης   ]λ[

10   ......]. Τελα[μ-
      ....]με.[

.   .   .   .

Fr. 6

.   .   .   .

] ἐν [Ἰ]σθμῶι [ἐπὶ Μελικέρτηι
]τῶι Ἀθάμαντ[ος

Fr. 7 (a+b)

.   .   .   .

            ]..[
            ].π[
            ]ει.[
            ].α.[
5   ]..[
ἕβδομος] ἀγὼν ὃν [
      ἐ]πὶ Πέλοπ[ι
      ] Ἀλκμήν[ης
      ὄγ]δο[ο]ς ἀγὼ[ν
10   ἐν Νεμ]έαι ἐπ' Ἀρχ[εμόρωι

.   .   .   .

Fr. 8

.   [
ω ἵππωι[
Διὸς στά[διον
....[

.   .   .

Fr. 9

.   .   .

]ου δίσκ[ωι

Fr. 10

```
        ] . [ . ] . [
]ν τὸ πρῶτον α[
] ἐν Ἀρείωι Πάγ[ωι
]ς Ἄρει προς [
5   ]α κτείναντ[-
```

Fr. 11

```
        ] . . . [ . ] . . [
θυ]γατέρα α[
] ος ἀγων[
Ἀθή]ναις ἐν Ἀ[ρείωι Πάγωι
5   ] τωι [
]κτείναν[τ-
] . . ου . . [
Εὐ]παλάμο[υ
] ἐγένετο [
10  ἐν Ἀ]ρείωι Πάγω[ι
]      . . . . . [
] . ταιμη[
]εως η [
] ωνε[
15  ]ων [
] . . . [
```

Fr. 12   col. i   col. ii

```
                              μει [
]ακ . []ς           ] ολ[
] γη[               ] . [ ]ν[
] . κα ο            . ]η α[
] . α [       5    . γγε [          Λε-]
```

```
5   ] [ ] ενηρα         βαδεια[-
]  Διονύσου            μαντε[
]κλης ⟩               ] π [
] . [                 ] [
```

Fr. 17 col. i   col. ii

```
] λη [           . [
] . [            εις [          Ἡ-]
]αντ[           ρακλ[ῆς
                διο [
5               ] . [
```

Fr. 1 col. i

Fr. 1 col. i 6–19 contains the remains of a list of people who were the first to sacrifice to certain gods (cf. 10 f.). It is not clear whether 1–5 are already part of this list (in 5]ουεν would fit the scheme 'son of X in Y').

6 f. Κέκροψ ὁ δι|[φυ]ὴς: cf. e.g. Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F 93 Κέκροψ ὁ διφυής, Ar. *Pl.* 773, Suidas s.v. δράκαυλος (δ 1492 Adler). On Cecrops founding a cult of Zeus in Attica and giving him his name cf. e.g. Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F 93 and 97; Paus. 8, 2, 3; Euseb. *Praep. Evang.* 10, 9, 22; Eitrem in *RE* 11, 119 ff. (s.v. Kekrops); on Cecrops in general U. Krohn, *Die zehn attischen Phylenheroen*, Berlin 1976, 84–103. Before Κέκροψ we would expect Διί, but this leaves the blank space unexplained.

κλ[. . .]ς: κλ[ηθεί]ς seems too long for the gap.

8 f. . . .] ει: presumably the name of a god whose cult was first founded by Arcas (so *perhaps* ερ]μει for Ἑρ]μῆι). I have not found Arcas as the founder of a cult elsewhere. The words ἐν Ἀρκαδίαι also suggest something about Hermes.

9 f. Ἄρει Ἐν|υαλίωι: cf. e.g. *Il.* 17, 210 f. Ἄρης| δεινὸς Ἐνυάλιος, AR 3, 1366; more in Jessen in *RE* 5, 2651 f. (s.v. Enyalios). On the way in which the Scyths sacrificed to Ares cf. Hdt. 4, 62; on their special position in honouring Ares Apollod. *FGrH* 244 F 126. See further F. Hartog in M. Detienne–J. P. Vernant, *La cuisine du sacrifice en pays grec*, Paris 1979, 251–269.

11 Aphrodite's temple in Cythera was the oldest in Greece according to Paus. 3, 23, 1 and as candidates for its foundation we find the Phoenicians (Hdt. 1, 105; Paus. 1, 14, 7) or Aeneas (DH 1, 50); cf. Dümmler in *RE* 1, 2751 (s.v. Aphrodite).

12 According to Call. *h.* 3, 237 ff. the famous cult of Artemis in Ephesos was founded by the Amazon Hippo; cf. Hepding in *RE* 8, 1720 (s.v. Hippo 3).

14 Λῆ]μν[ο]ς is expected and fits exactly. Cf. e.g. *Od.* 8, 283 f.; Friedrich in *RE* 12, 1928 f. (s.v. Lemnos).

14 f. For Eteocles, the son of Cephisus (Paus. 9, 34, 9) as founder of the famous cult of the Charites in Orchomenus see e.g. Theoc. 16, 104 with the scholion ad loc.; Paus. 9, 35, 1; Strabo 9, 414 C. A difficulty is that in 15 another place seems to be mentioned: αρ . ορω, which however may be a corruption (like επ κλης in 14), as the letters fit no known Greek place-name. If so, we may emend to Ὀρχομενῶι ⟨αρχεμορωι as a corruption perhaps influenced by fr. 7, 10 cannot be read). Cf. in general A. Schachter, *Cults of Boiotia* I (BICS Suppl. 38. 1), London 1981, 140 ff.

16 f. Ἡρακλεῖ: on Heracles especially honoured in Thebes cf. e.g. Σ Ar. *Eq.* 481 ἴδιος Θηβαίων ὁ θεός (sc. Heracles); see further Gruppe in *RE* Suppl. 3, 935 ff.

17 ff. 'But some say that ... sacrificed to Heracles': apparently an alternative tradition.

19 ff. Blank space followed by οἶδε etc. begins a new chapter; cf. col. ii 15; fr. 2 col. ii 6 (where also remains of a coronis can be detected in the left-hand margin). Apparently our author began his chapters with a kind of general heading: 'The following people were the first to ...' *vel sim.*, followed by the actual list. The list of first builders of altars which we have here recalls the list in Hyg. *Fab.* 225 *Qui primi templa deorum constituerunt.* Compared to Hyginus our list differs in two important points: (1) it is more systematic, beginning with three temples of Zeus (muddled in Hyginus; see comm. on 25), (2) details in the information offered are different (e.g. no names of fathers, but more elaborate indications of places in our list).

20 πρῶ[τοι βωμοὺς θ]εῶν nicely fills the gap; ἱερά would be too short.

21 Ὀλύμπ[ι]ον: perhaps a mistake for Ὀλυμπί[ι]ον.

23 Cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 225, 1, *aedem Ioui Olympio primum fecit Pelasgus Triopae filius in Arcadia.* Until now this was the only passage where this was attested; cf. Rose ad loc.; Krischan in *RE* 19, 258 (s.v. Pelasgos).

24 Λυκαίου: on the temple of Zeus Lycaeus in Arcadia cf. Schwabl in *RE* Suppl. 15, 1088 f. (s.v. Zeus [Teil II]), who gives further references.

25 Δευκα[λί]ων: the current version is that Deucalion, who had been king of Thessaly, went to Athens and there founded the temple of Olympian Zeus. Cf. e.g. *Marmor Parium FGrH* 239 A 4; Paus. 1, 18, 8; Tümpel in *RE* 5, 262 ff. (s.v. Deukalion). But here we seem to have another version: δειω (or δεια) seems to point to Dium in Macedonia, so Δ{ε}ίωι. For the cult of Zeus Olympius at Dium cf. DS 17, 16; Schwabl o.c. 1121 f. Deucalion as its founder I have not found elsewhere attested, but something to this effect may be behind the confusion in Hyg. *Fab.* 225, 1 *Thessalus templum quod est in Macedonia Iouis Dodonaei in terra Molossorum.* Schmidt, in his edition, wanted to delete *quod est in Macedonia*, but it is more likely now that something is lost. Perhaps we should read: *Thessalus templum ⟨Iouis in Dio⟩, quod est in Macedonia, ⟨   templum⟩ Iouis Dodonaei in terra Molossorum.* The second part of Hyginus' line then corresponds to our 27 ff.

28]ελιας: J. N. Bremmer suggests Π]ελίας because of the importance of doves in Dodona. No other name seems to fit. In Hyg. *Fab.* 225, 1 the name of the founder of this temple seems to be lost (see on 25).

29 f. Cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 225, 2 *Phoroneus Inachi filius templum Argis Iunoni primus fecit*; also Hyg. *Fab.* 143, 3 and perhaps 274, 8 (where Scheffer proposed *aram* for *arma*; cf. M. Kremmer, *De catalogis heurematum*, Diss. Leipzig 1890, 72 f.). On Prosymna as the site of the Heraeum see e.g. Strabo 8, 6, 11 (373 C); on Phoroneus in this context see Schmidt in *RE* XX 645 f. (s.v. Phoroneus).

31 f. As the founders of the Heraeum on Samos we find (1) the Argonauts (Paus. 7, 4, 4) and (2) the Leleges and the nymphs (Athen. 15, 672b). Here we seem to have a single female related to Phoroneus: .α[.[...]ca Φορων .[. No close relative of Phoroneus seems to fit, but a nymph Larissa is attested as a daughter or mother of Pelasgus, who is a descendant of Phoroneus (cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 145, 1–2; Stählin in *RE* XII 847 s.v. Larisa; Mineur on Call. *h.* 4, 104). The name would fit very well palaeographically.

Fr. 1 col. ii

In 5–17 some facts about Themis and Athena are told and followed by the conclusion that this is why each is given a certain epithet by Hesiod (?) and Homer. Two quotations are added in order to illustrate this, but both are of a strange and hybrid nature (see comm. on 9 ff. and 15 ff.). Notes on epithets are frequent in Apollod. Περὶ Θεῶν; cf. e.g. *FGrH* 244 F 89–96; 111–113 etc.; A. Henrichs, *Cron. Erc.* 5, 1975, 20 ff. Perhaps fr. 14 belongs to the same context (see comm. there).

5]εμ[: some form of Θέμις? Though much is uncertain she seems to be the goddess who is dealt with in this passage. Because she is referred to as τὴν θεόν in 8, she must have been mentioned in one of the preceding lines, so perhaps here.

6 Ἴχ[μ]αις τῆς Παι[ο]νία[ς: I have not found a town called Ichmae elsewhere, but in view of 8 Ἰχμαίην and 9 Ἰχμα[ίης I think we must accept this spelling here. The location of the place in Paeonia and the fact that a goddess derived her epithet from it suggest that the place must be identified with the Macedonian Ichnae, where Θέμις Ἰχναία was honoured. Cf. Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἴχναι (342, 17 Meineke): Ἴχναι, πόλις Μακεδονίας ... τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἰχναῖος καὶ Ἰχναία ἡ Θέμις; Hsch. ι 1154 Latte; Σ Lyc. 129. A Macedonian Ichnae is also mentioned in Hdt. 7, 123, 3; Strabo 9, 5, 14 (435 C) locates town and cult of Themis in Thessaliotis. For the alternative spelling cf. *Il.* 13, 71 where ἴχματα is a variant reading for ἴχνια and Hsch. ι 1151 Latte ἴχματα· ἴχνια.

7 λευκὸς Παίων: here probably the eponymous hero of Paeonia (cf. Paus. 5, 1, 5). It is not clear why he is called λευκός.

8 Ἰχμαίην: cf. *hAp.* 94 Ἰχναίη τε Θέμις (and Allen-Halliday-Sikes ad loc.); Lyc. 129 and the passages

mentioned on 6. The line of thought seems to be: 'white-skinned Paeon ⟨did something to⟩ Themis in Ichmae in Paeonia; therefore Hesiod calls the goddess Ichmaea in the follow line ...'. The explanation seems to be different from those given in Σ Lyc. and Steph. Byz. l.c.

9 ff. ἐν τούτοις introduces a hexameter attributed to Hesiod. The line is reminiscent of *hAp.* 94 Ἰχναίη τε Θέμις καὶ ἀγάστονος Ἀμφιτρίτη, but does not make sense. A possible explanation may be that Ἰχμαίης Θέμιδος was quoted from Hesiod and subsequently somehow contaminated with *hAp.* 94, e.g. by 'haplography', because in an earlier version of this note *both* lines were quoted. The change of Θέμιδος to Θέτιδος may have occurred in a subsequent stage, when somebody wanted to give the line some coherence by making it mention two sea-goddesses (I owe this observation to J. N. Bremmer).

11 ff. In these lines an explanation of Athena's epithet γλαυκῶπις is given, but the details are still obscure. Explanations of this adjective are also given in Apollod. *FGrH* 244 F 353 (10) and 354 (1)–(2), but they do not include Erechtheus and it is by no means clear what he is said to have done to Athena in our text. Yet, considering that in 5 ff. the explanation of Ichmaea was based on a story including a mythological figure (Paeon) and a place-name (Ichmae), I am inclined to expect a similar approach here. Then the epithet could be derived from the Γλαυκώπιον (on the ancient dispute on the nature of the Glaucopium see Pfeiffer on Call. fr. 238). Our list would then have followed the way of explaining epithets from place-names, which is rejected by Apollodorus *FGrH* 244 F 353 (10) πάντ' οὖν (sc. ἐπίθετα) ἀπὸ τῶν παρεπομένων τοῖς θεοῖς. καὶ γὰρ ἡ γλαυκῶπις οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ '† ἤ τ' ἄκρησθ † ἴ_να Γλαυκώπιον ἵζε_ι' (Call. fr. 238, 11 Pf.), ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν πρόσοψιν τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν καταπλήξεως. Cf. R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* I, Oxford 1968, 261 ff.; Henrichs o.c. 36 n. 164.

14 ff. λ.[.]ει: λέ[γ]ει would fit. The quotation from 'Homer' is a combination of two epic formulas: cf. *hHom.* 27, 7 f. ἰαχεῖ δ' ἐπὶ δάσκιος ὕλη | δεινὸν ὑπὸ κλαγγῆς θηρῶν and for γλαυκώπιδος ὀβριμοπάτρης *Od.* 3, 135; 24, 540. The line is new and makes little sense in our text. It may be one of the so-called Homeric plus-verses, created by a combination of formulas. On this kind of line see S. West, *The Ptolemaic Papyri of Homer*, Köln/Opladen 1967, 13; they may also turn up in quotations: ibid. 49 f. and 61.

17 ff. The beginning of a new chapter (cf. on fr. 1 col. i 19 ff.). Its subject is 'metamorphoses', and we have remains of the stories of Callisto, Io and Procne and Philomela.

19 On Callisto cf. e.g. Ps.-Eratosthenes *Catast.* 1 (=Hes. fr. 163); Hyg. *Fab.* 177; Ps.-Apollod. 3, 8, 2 (with Frazer's notes); Henrichs in Bremmer o.c. 254 ff. It is worth noticing that our text is using the Ionic accusatives Καλλιστοῦν and Ἰοῦν (22).

21 f. These lines seem to refer to Callisto being turned into the constellation Ἄρκτος, but it is hard to see how exactly this was phrased. In 22 .τ[...]τ.ν may be ϲτ[ηρικ]τῶν (cf. *hMerc.* 11 οὐρανῶι ἐϲτήρικτο; Hyg. *Fab.* 177, 1 ... *quod signum loco non mouetur neque occidit*; see Williams on Call. *h.* 2, 23) or ἐ|ϲτ[ηκό]των. The latter may be better because of space and 21 ε[.

22 For Io see e.g. Hyg. *Fab.* 145; Ps.-Apollod. 2, 1, 3.

24 Βοὸς Πόρος: for this spelling cf. e.g. Oppian. *Hal.* 1, 167 Βοὸς Πόρον; for the sense cf. Ps.-Apollod. 2, 1, 3 διέβη (sc. Io) τὸν τότε μὲν καλούμενον πόρον Θράικιον, νῦν δὲ ἀπ' ἐκείνης Βόσπορον.

24 ff. For Procne and Philomela see e.g. Hyg. *Fab.* 45; Ps.-Apollod. 3, 14, 8.

Fr. 2 col. ii

It is not certain to which categories this piece belongs. 1–6 would fit a series of sons of gods and mortal women. For similar though differently arranged lists cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 226–232 (which are now lost). For the mention of mortal as well as immortal husbands cf. Paus. 10, 6, 1 καί οἱ (sc. Parnassus) πατέρας, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἄλλοις τῶν καλουμένων ἡρώων, Ποσειδῶνά τε θεῶν καὶ Κλεόπομπον ἄνδρα ἐπονομάζουσιν. On the other hand, if Κορ]ωνίδος[in 1 is right, 1–4 recall Hyg. *Fab.* 224, 5 *Asclepius Apollinis et Coronidis filius; Pan Mercurii et Penelopes filius* in a chapter *Qui facti sunt ex mortalibus immortales*, but Trophonius would not fit such a context (on his death see Radke in *RE* 7a, 680 f. [s.v. Trophonius]). Perhaps fr. 13 and 19 also belong to this list (see comm.). 6 ff. are about first inventors, either in general or of religious matters only (for details see comm. ad loc.).

1]ωνιδος[: the context suggests a genitive, and it is attractive to think of a woman's name in -ωνις. So e.g. Κορ]ωνίδος[(she and Apollo are attested as parents of Asclepius; her mortal husband was Ischys; cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 202 and 224, 5; Ps.-Apollod. 3, 10, 3 with Frazer ad loc.) or Φιλ]ωνίδος[(she and Hermes are attested as parents of Autolycus; cf. Hes. fr. 64, 16 ff. M-W; Hyg. *Fab.* 200).

2 ff. Probably part of a note on Pan as son of Hermes and Penelope, which was a generally accepted

genealogy. Cf. e.g. Σ Theoc. 1, 123 τὸν δὲ Πᾶνα οἱ μὲν Πηνελόπης καὶ Ὀδυσσέως ἢ Ἑρμοῦ; Hdt. 2, 145, 4; Ps.-Apollod. *Epit.* 7, 38; Hyg. *Fab.* 224, 5; Cic. *ND* 3, 22, 56 (with Pease ad loc.); Ph. Borgeaud, *Recherches sur le dieu Pan*, Roma 1979, 84. In 4 ... εους may be a reference to the regular husband or alternative father (cf. comm. on 6), but we cannot read ο]|δυςςεους (for Ὀδυσσέως).

4 f. For Trophonius as a son of Apollo and Iocaste cf. Tzetzes on Ar. *Nu.* 506a Ἐπικάστης καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος, κατ' ἄλλους Διὸς καὶ Ἰοκάστης ἢ Ἐργίνου καὶ Ἰοκάστης γίνεται παῖς Τροφώνιος; Philodem. *De Pietate* PHerc. 243 III 27 f. (ed. A. Henrichs, *GRBS* 13, 1972, 86 ff.; W. Luppe, *Cron. Erc.* 14, 1984, 118 ff.). I have not found the combination Apollo and Iocaste elsewhere, but Epicaste and Iocaste probably refer to the same mythological person (both names are also recorded for the wife of Oedipus; cf. e.g. Ps.-Apollod. 3, 5, 7 with Frazer's notes; A. Brelich, *Gli eroi greci*, Roma 1958, 52 f.; Bremmer o.c. 51).

6 γινους: perhaps part of a reference to Erginus; cf. Tzetzes on Ar. *Nu.* 506a (quoted on 4 f.). It may well be that the list included the names of alternative fathers or regular husbands. Cf. also on 2 ff.

6 ff. After γινους there is some blank space, corresponding with a coronis in the left-hand margin, and a new chapter begins (cf. on fr. 1 col. i 19 ff.). The new list may be either a list of first inventors in general or of inventors of various religious practices in particular. In the first case one may supply οἶδε πρῶτοι [εὑρεταί·]| ἱερ]ὰ κατέδειξαν Ἀρ[κάδες] ἔθνον δὲ τὸ πρῶτον[| δεύτερον [δὲ] etc. For the chapter-heading cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 274, 7 *Arcades res diuinas primi diis fecerunt*; for the expression Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 1, 74, 2 Stählin Αἰγύπτιοι ... πρῶτον κατέδειξαν. In the second case οἶδε would have to be the subject of κατέδειξαν, and one would have to supply e.g. Ἀρ[κάδες ἱερά (sc. κατέδειξαν). This, however, would make 7 rather too long and is less attractive than the first solution.

8 ff. Cf. Σ Lyc. 482 ἄλλοι δέ φασιν, ὅτι Ἀρκάδες θυσίας θεοῖς κατέδειξαν πρῶτον μὲν, δεύτερον ἵππον λευκόν, τρίτον δρυὸς φύλλα, ὅθεν ἡ Πυθώ *πολλοὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίαι* βαλανηφάγοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν. Here too we probably have three kinds of offerings in succession: (1) lost at the end of 8; (2) βοάγρια 'shields of wild bull's hide' (LSJ) (cf. perhaps X **1241** col. v 9 ff. where the invention of leather shields is related to sacrificing cows; cf. W. Burkert, *Homo necans*, Berkeley/Los Angeles/London 1983², 167); (3) something to do with the oak, like the δρυὸς φύλλα in Σ Lyc.: φύλ]λα δρυὸ[ς would fit, but there is not enough room for [τρίτον δὲ at the end of 9.

Fr. 3

Frs. 3–9 contain remains of a list of founders of games and digressions about winners in some of these games. The list is in the same order and—as far as we can see—has the same numbering as similar, but less detailed lists in Arist. fr. 637 Rose (a list of ten games: 1. Eleusinia; 2. Panathenaea; 3. games in Argos; 4. Lycaea; 5. games for Pelias; 6. Isthmia; 7. Olympia; 8. Nemea; 9. games for Patroclus; 10. Pythia) and PYale II 108 (very similar to Arist. fr. 637 nrs. 6–10). It contains the last bit of the first games (presumably the Eleusinia as in Arist.); fragments which correspond to Arist. fr. 637 nrs. 2–9; no remains of his nr. 10 (Pythia). Digressions in the games for Pelias (fr. 3, 15 ff.; 4; 5 col. i) and the funeral games for Patroclus (fr. 5 col. ii) show some similarity to Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 9–11 and 13. The list in Hyg. *Fab.* 273, however, is in a very different order; see in general on this list W. H. Willis, *TAPhA* 72, 1941, 392–417. Fr. 4 and 5 col. i partly overlap with PStrasb. WG 332 col. i 11 ff. (a list of winners in the games for Pelias). For further references to lists of games see S. Stephens on PYale II 108 (intr.). The arrangement of fr. 3–7 in columns must have been as follows: col. A: fr. 3; col. B: fr. 4; 5 col. i; 6 (foot of column); col. C: fr. 7; 5 col. ii. Fr. 8–9 have not been located with certainty.

1 ff. In Arist. fr. 637 the Eleusinia are mentioned as the first games: πρῶτα μὲν τὰ Ἐλευσίνια διὰ τὸν καρπὸν τῆς Δήμητρος. It seems likely that they were the first games in our list too, but the scanty remains of 1 ff. do not allow any firm conclusions.

4 ff. Cf. Arist. fr. 637 δεύτερα δὲ τὰ Παναθήναια ἐπὶ Ἀστέρι τῶι γίγαντι ὑπὸ Ἀθηνᾶς ἀναιρεθέντι. Erichthonius as founder of the Panathenaea is amply attested; cf. e.g. Ps.-Apollod. 3, 14, 6; *Marmor Parium* *FGrH* 239 A 10 (with Jacoby ad loc.; Burkert o.c. 154 n. 84; J. D. Mikalson, *AJPh* 97, 1976, 141–153). In other versions the Panathenaea are the first games (see Rose on Arist. fr. 637) or founded by Theseus (cf. Ziehen in *RE* 18², 457 [s.v. Panathenaia]). Perhaps δεύ]|τερος ἀγών was followed by a relative clause ὃν ἔ]|θηκεν in 6 ff.; cf. 10 f. and PYale II 108, which alternates between ἀγὼν ὃν ἔθηκεν and ἀγὼν ἐτέθη. But in Hyg. *Fab.* 273 the syntax is more varied, and the fragments of our papyrus do not allow firm conclusions on this point. So δεύ]|τερος ἀγὼν[α ... (6) ἔ]|θηκεν Ἐριχθ[όνιος is also possible (see on 8).

8 On Erichthonius as a son of Hephaestus see Hyg. *Fab.* 166; Ps.-Apollod. 3, 14, 6; R. Parker, in Bremmer o.c. 194. It is hard to see what could be lost in the gap between 7 Ἐριχθ[όνιος and

8 Ἡφαίστου: there is room for ca. 5 letters, but there is nothing that we really want here (υἱός might do, but seems superfluous).

κ.[: perhaps κα[ί. If so, the gap may have contained a reference to his mother (e.g. κα[ὶ Ἀθηνᾶς; cf. Ps.-Apollod. 3, 14, 6) or to some event at these games (cf. 9 ἐν τῶι ἀγῶν[ι). In the latter case we may compare *Marmor Parium* *FGrH* 239 A 10 [ἀφ' οὗ Ἐριχ]θόνιος Παναθηναίοις τοῖς πρώτοις γενομένοις ἅρμα ἔζευξε καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐδείκνυε and supply e.g. κα[ὶ τὸ πρῶτον]| ἐν τῶι ἀγῶν[ι] ἅρμα ἔζευξε; cf. also Ael. *VH* 3, 38. I think this second solution is more economical. It would imply ἀγῶν[α ... ἔ]|θηκεν in 5 ff. in order to avoid anacoluthon.

10 ff. For Danaus cf. Arist. fr. 637 τρίτος ὃν ἐν Ἄργει Δαναὸς ἔθηκε διὰ τὸν γάμον τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ; Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 1 *quinto loco Argis quos fecit Danaus Beli filius filiarum nuptiis cantu, unde hymenaeus dictus*. In 10 ἀγών may have been followed by an adjective indicating the nature of these games. Cf. either Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 1 *cantu*, which suggests μουσικός, or Ps.-Apollod. 2, 1, 5 Δαναὸς δὲ ὕστερον Ὑπερμνήστραν Λυγκεῖ συνώικισε, τὰς δὲ λοιπὰς θυγατέρας εἰς γυμνικὸν ἀγῶνα τοῖς νικῶσιν ἔδωκεν, which suggests γυμνικός. Both adjectives would fit the space, but γ seems more likely than μ. In 11 Danaus' parentage may have been mentioned: the gap could contain ὁ Βήλου; cf. 18. As to]. υ in 13, I have no idea what this can be and υ may be wrongly read. On the games in Argos see Burkert o.c. 163 + n. 7.

13 ff. Cf. Arist. fr. 637 τέταρτος ὁ ἐν Ἀρκαδίαι τεθεὶς ὑπὸ Λυκάονος, ὃς ἐκλήθη Λύκαια. In 14 ἔθ]ετο would suit, though the traces are scanty, and this fits in with the fact that the founder of the Lycaea is not mentioned. In 15 δε κ]αλεῖτα[ι fits space and traces. Cf. M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et cultes d'Arcadie*, Paris 1985.

16 ff. A considerable part of this list is devoted to the games for Pelias and the winners in these games; cf. also fr. 4 and 5 col. i. These games were a popular theme, attested as early as Stesich. fr. 1–3 (*PMGF* 178–180) in a work called Ἆθλα ἐπὶ Πελίαι. Cf. Henrichs, in Bremmer o.c. 252 f.; Fiesel in *RE* 19, 318 ff. (s.v. Pelias). Their popularity may account for the elaborate treatment in our list and in Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 9–11 and for their inclusion in PStrasb. WG 332 (where they do not appear in a list of games, but on their own between other lists). Arist. fr. 637 mentions them only briefly: πέμπτος ὁ ἐν Ἰωλκῶι Ἀκάστου καθηγησαμένου ἐπὶ Πελίαι τῶι πατρί.

18 ff. For the genealogy of Acastus cf. Ps.-Apollod. 1, 9, 7 ff. It seems to be rather elaborate, but that may be in accordance with the importance and extensive treatment of these games here. On Euadne as a daughter of Pelias see DS 4, 53.

Fr. 4.

This fragment overlaps more or less with PStrasb. WG 332 col. i 11 ff., where some winners in the games for Pelias are mentioned: Κά]ς[τωρ Τυνδάρε]ω| [στ]άδιον [Κ]άλαι[ς Β]ο[ρέο]υ δίαυλον [Π] ολυ[δε]ύκη[ς Τυνδ[άρε]ω| [πυγ]μήν. The order in our list is closer to Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 10 *his ludis uicerunt Zetes Aquilonis filius dolichodromo, Calais eiusdem filius diaulo, Castor Iouis filius stadio, Pollux eiusdem filius caestu*, where, however, Castor and Pollux are called sons of Iuppiter, not of Tyndareus. Comparison with Hyg. and PStrasb. suggests that fr. 4 preceded fr. 5 col. i and that the victories of Telamon, Peleus, Heracles and Meleager and the bit about Cygnus may have been lost in between. This could be contained in 5 lines, the last of which could be fr. 5 col. i 1: so 4 lines may be lost between fr. 4 and fr. 5 col. i.

Fr. 5 col. i

Here the list of winners in the games for Pelias is continued. There is much overlap with PStrasb. WG 332 col. ii 2 ff. and much similarity to Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 11.

2 f. The subject of ἀποκτεί]νει must be Cygnus, the son of Ares; cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 11 *Cygnus Martis filius armis occidit* † *Pilum Diodoti filium*; Paus. 1, 27, 6 τοῦτον τὸν Κύκνον φασὶν ἄλλους τε φονεῦσαι καὶ Λύκον Θρᾶικα προτεθέντων σφίσι μονομαχίας ἄθλων. Because of the latter passage *Lycum* had been suggested for *Pilum* in Hyg., and this was supported by PStrasb. WG 332 col. ii 2 f. (cf. S. Daris, *Aeg.* 39, 1959, 18 ff.). Our text supports it too. The name of the father is still obscure (Schwartz reads το .Δ_.τ[; some suggestions in Daris o.c. 20 n. 1).

4 Γλαύκ]ου: the father of Bellerophontes is not mentioned by Hyg.

5 After Ἰόλαος probably Ἰφίκλου (Ἰφικλέους would be too long). Cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 11 *quadrigis autem uicit Iolaus Iphicli filius Glaucum Sisyphi filium, quem equi mordici distraxerunt*. Here Hyg. is more elaborate than both papyrus-texts.

6 f. Iphiclus' victory is left out by Hyg.

7 ff. A separate piece of papyrus, placed here because of the overlap with PStrasb. WG 332 col. ii 8 ff.

[ϲυνω]|ρίδι πωλικῆι [Εὔρυ]|τος [Ἐ]ρμ[ο]ῦ τόξωι [. .]|νε[. .] Ἑρμοῦ [. . . .]| . . .]ε[(I have based the supplements Αἰνεὺ]ϲ Ἑρμοῦ| ϲφενδόνηι on Schwartz's reports about another fragment of PStrasb. WG 332 col. ii 9–11; cf. Schwartz o.c. 155). Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 11 has *Eurytus Mercurii filius sagittis, Cephalus Deionis filius funda.* After Aeneus the papyrus-lists may have mentioned Cephalus too: (1) PStrasb. could have [Κ]έ[φαλοϲ in line 11; (2) our text has]ον[in 9, which is in the right position for Δηι]όν[οϲ. The supplements in 9 f. are based on this evidence. On Cephalus as a son of Dion or Dioneus see Frazer on Ps.-Apollod. 3, 14, 3.

Fr. 5 col. ii

In 2 ff. our list deals with the funeral games for Patroclus (2 cannot be read, but the paragraphos may mark the transition). These games are also presented in some detail in Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 13, but less elaborately than our list (Hyg. refers only to Ajax winning the wrestling match and Menelaus winning with a spear). The names and games of which we have the remains here correspond to those in *Il.* 23, 257 ff., but they are in a different order. Cf. also Ps.-Apollod. *Epit.* 4, 7; Dositheus 43–44 (p. 181 Rose).

3 f. Cf. Arist. fr. 637 ἔνατος ὁ ἐν Τροίαι ὃν Ἀχιλλεὺϲ ἐπὶ Πατρόκλωι ἐποίηϲεν; PYale II 108, 12–15.

4 f. Probably to be read as Δι]ομήδη[ϲ Τυδέ]|ωϲ ἅρματι. A difficulty is that there does not seem to be room for something like ἐν ὧι νικᾶι to have introduced the list of winners.

7 Comparison with *Il.* 23, 700 ff. suggests πά[λην, but πυ[, i.e. πυ[γμήν, seems inescapable.

8 f. Probably about Epeius, the son of Panopeus, as winner of the boxing-match, though the name of the game is lost in the lacuna and we seem to have a boxing-match in 7 too. Παϝοπηι.[: instead of the expected Πανοπέωϲ we seem to have a patronymic Παϝοπήιο[ϲ.

9 f. Probably about the sword-fight between Ajax and Diomedes, in which no winner is declared; cf. *Il.* 23, 798 ff.

11]με.[: if this is part of a proper name there are three possibilities: (1)]μεν[: cf. *Il.* 23, 850 ff. about Meriones, servant of Idomeneus, who won the archery contest. But there is no room for Μηριόνης θεράπων vel sim. before]με.[; (2)]μεν[: cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 13 *deinde Menelaus uicit iaculo et accepit muneri iaculum aureum.* This is different from *Il.* 23, 885 ff., where Agamemnon and Meriones want to take part in the spear-contest and both get a prize; (3)]μεμ[: Ἀγα]μέμ[νων, cf. *Il.* 23, 885 ff. As, on the whole, our list seems to be closer to the *Iliad* than Hyg. this seems more likely than (2).

Fr. 6

About the Isthmian games. Cf. Arist. fr. 637 ἕκτος ὁ ἐν Ἰϲθμῶι Ϲιϲύφου νομοθετήϲαντοϲ ἐπὶ Μελικέρτηι; PYale II 108, 1 ff.; Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 8 (nr. 10). It is not clear to whom these games were attributed in our list. PYale and Hyg. both mention two versions of their foundation: (1) for Melicertes, founded by Eratocles (Hyg.); (2) founded by Theseus after killing Sinis (PYale). Cf. Schneider in *RE* 9, 2248 (s.v. Isthmia). There would be room for a digression on this subject in fr. 7, 1–5.

Fr. 7

1 ff. See on fr. 6.

6 ff. About the Olympian games, founded by Heracles. Cf. Arist. fr. 637 ἕβδομος ὁ Ὀλυμπιακὸϲ Ἡρακλέουϲ νομοθετήϲαντοϲ ἐπὶ Πέλοπι; PYale II 108, 7–9; Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 5 (nr. 8). Further references in e.g. Frazer on Ps.-Apollod. 2, 7, 2.

9 f. The Nemean games. One could e.g. supply ὀγ]δο[ο]ϲ ἀγὼ[ν ὃν ἔθηκαν] ἐν Νεμ]έαι ἐπ' Ἀρχ[εμόρωι οἳ] ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβαϲ. Cf. Arist. fr. 637 ὄγδοοϲ ὁ ἐν Νεμέαι, ὃν ἔθηκαν οἱ ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβαϲ ἐπὶ Ἀρχεμόρωι; PYale II 108, 10–12; Hyg. *Fab.* 273, 6 (nr. 9). Further references in G. W. Bond, *Euripides Hypsipyle*, Oxford 1963, 147–149; cf. now also the fragments of Callimachus' *Victoria Berenices* in *SH* 254–268, where the foundation by the Seven against Thebes for Archemorus is referred to in *SH* 255, 7 (?) and 266.

Fr. 8

Probably about someone winning a chariot-race; then about some son of Zeus, winning the foot-race.

Fr. 9

Probably about somebody's son winning with a discus. A possible location would be between frr. 4 and 5, where we expect to find Τελαμὼν Αἰακοῦ δίϲκωι. But if the fragment is from the foot of a column, as it seems to be, this cannot be done, because there is no room for a foot of column between frr. 4 and 5.

Fr. 10

Fr. 10 and 11 contain remains of a list of people tried for murder at the Areopagus. Cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 272 *Iudicia parricidarum qui in Areopago causam dixerunt* (which is lost except for its title) and the lists in Σ E. *Or.* 1648 and 1651. The order given in the scholia in Ares—Cephalus—Daedalus—Orestes. In fr. 10, 4 Ares is mentioned, in fr. 11, 8 Εὐ]παλάμο[υ points to Daedalus; before and after Daedalus there would be room for Cephalus and Orestes respectively, but the text is indecisive.

2 ff. On the trial of Ares, who had killed Halirrothius, a son of Poseidon, who had raped Ares' daughter Alcippe, see Σ E. *Or.* 1648; Ps.-Apollod. 3, 14, 2 (and Frazer ad loc.); Paus. 1, 21, 4; PUnivGiss IV 42 fr. 2.

Fr. 11

2 θυ]γατέρα: if it is rightly assumed that the trial of Daedalus begins in 4 and was preceded by the trial of Cephalus, this must be Procris, the daughter of Erechtheus, who was killed by Cephalus. Cf. Σ E. *Or.* 1648; Ps.-Apollod. 3, 15, 1 (with Frazer ad loc.).

3 ἀγων[: some form of ἀγών or ἀγωνίζομαι would fit the context.

8 Daedalus, the son of Eupalamus, was tried at the Areopagus for killing his sister's son Talos; cf. Σ E. *Or.* 1648; DS 4, 76, 1 ff.; Ps.-Apollod. 3, 15, 8 (more in Frazer ad loc.).

9 ἐγένετο: the subject may have been δίκη; cf. Σ E. *Or.* 1648 δίκη...ἐγένετο.

10 ff. ἐν Ἀ]ρείωι Πάγω[ι seems to indicate the beginning of the next trial, presumably that of Orestes; cf. e.g. Σ E. *Or.* 1648; Ps.-Apollod. *Epit.* 6, 25 etc. In 12 it is tempting to read κ]λυταιμη[ϲτρα, but I think it is palaeographically impossible.

Fr. 12

The contents of col. i are not at all clear: perhaps something about Heracles and Dionysus; cf. fr. 1 col. i 16. In col. ii the only clue is 5 f. Λε]|βαδεια[, i.e. Lebadeia where the famous oracle of Trophonius was situated (cf. Tzetzes on Ar. *Nu.* 506a; Radke in *RE* 7a, 685 ff. [s.v. Trophonios]). In 7 μαντε[also suggests a context about oracles. Cf. Str. 8, 2, 37 (414 C) Λεβάδεια δ' ἐϲτίν, ὅπου Διὸϲ Τροφωνίου μαντεῖον ἵδρυται.

Fr. 13

An indication of the contents of the latter part of this fragment may be found in 5]μιθε.[, which (if part of one word) suggests some form of ἡμίθεος. If so,]ηλθ.ν[in 6 might be ϲυν]ῆλθον[and the lines may be the beginning of a section about mixed 'marriages', in which some part is played by half-gods, i.e. as offspring of gods and mortal women; cf. on fr. 2 col. ii.

Fr. 14

Perhaps to be related to fr. 1 col. ii 1–17 because of 2 ετυμο[, which would fit a section on etymology.

Fr. 15

2 Perhaps] ὡν[ό]μα[ϲεν vel sim.

Fr. 16

1 Perhaps οἶδε introducing a new chapter.

3]διοϲ: something about Zeus?

Fr. 17

In col. ii a new chapter seems to begin because there are remains of a coronis in the margin.

Fr. 19

2 If ω αϲκ[it is tempting to think of ω Ἀϲκ[ληπιόϲ and to connect the fragment with the beginning of fr. 2 col. ii (see comm. on fr. 2 col. ii 1).

M. A. HARDER

4307. MYTHOLOGICAL COMPENDIUM

49 5B.99/D (41–2)a   7.8 × 7.5 cm   Second century

This fragment is part of a list of mothers who killed their children, like Hyg. *Fab.* 239 *Matres quae filios interfecerunt* and more or less in the same order (Medea; Procne;

Ino; Althaea etc.), though some details are different (our list offers less genealogical information, but on the other hand mentions causes of the killing where Hyginus leaves them out). On the 'genre' and the possible relationship between this kind of list and the *Indices* of Hyginus see the introduction to **4306**.

The text is written in a medium-sized upright capital, generally bilinear (only η rising high) and often adorned with small serifs. I have assigned the papyrus to ii AD, because the hand is rather similar to that of XXVI **2441** (Pi. *Pae.*, assigned to ii AD) = *GMAW* 22; and PRyl. I 19 (Theopompus *Epit.*, assigned to ii AD), whereas in PPhil. 1 (=Roberts, *GLH* 13a) we have a comparable hand in a document dated in 125 AD.

```
      ].  .  .[                          ].  .  .[               ἔκτει-
      ]νανπ . . .[. . . . . .]δειονος     ναν Πρόκ[νη Παν]δίονος
      ] . τυντη . . . . . . . . [.]μη      Ἴτυν Τήρεως  . . . .[.]  Μή-
      ]δειααιητουτουϲ[. . ].ον.ϲ           δεια Αἰήτου τοὺς ['Ιά]ϲονοϲ
  5   ]παιδαϲοργη.ε .[.].  .  .[       5   παῖδαϲ ὀργῇ. ε . .[.]  .  .[    Κά-
      ]δμουμελικερτηναθ.[                  δμου Μελικέρτην 'Αθά-
                                    a
      ]μαντοϲλυπη. αλθαι .[. . .].         μαντοϲ λύπη. 'Αλθαία [    Θεϲτίου
      ]μελεαγρον . . . .[.].[              Μελέαγρον Οἰνέ[ω]ϲ[
          ] . . . .[                          ].  .  .  .[
      .                   .
```

1 faint blotted traces (papyrus is warped)   2 . . .[, top of vertical; rounded trace at bottom; speck 3] . , vertical thickened at bottom   . . . .[, vertical (ρ fits); two rounded letters (εω fits); rounded letter (?); rounded letter; vertical thickened at top and bottom (ρ ?); indefinite traces (οργη[ι cannot be excluded) 4] . , rounded letter   ν , rounded letter   5 . .[, specks (many of them on warped fibres)   ] . . .[, specks   6 . [, triangular letter   ν above . [a small a   . [, small triangular trace, looking most like upper part of ο (too small for a, wrong shape for θ)   7 above . [, supralinear oblique trace   8 . . . .[, part of rounded top; top of vertical; top of vertical (e.g. right part of ν); rounded top   ] . [, specks on dangling fibre   9] . . . .[, top (rounded ?); oblique; vertical; oblique joined to vertical + speck to right (perh. ν)

2 f. Procne is also mentioned in the lists in Hyg. *Fab.* 239 and 255 (*Quae impiae fuerunt*), both times without indication of the reason why she killed Itys. We may assume that the papyrus said something about anger or revenge, and in fact ὀργῇ[·] might fit the traces after Τήρεωϲ.

5 ὀργῇ: no reason is given in Hyg. *Fab.* 239. At the end of the line we expect 'Ινὼ Κά-, but the traces do not allow us to place the beginning of the name with any certainty. ε suggests the beginning of a verb, like ἔκτει|ναν in 1 f., but it seems rather superfluous and nothing can be read after ε.

7 λύπη: Hyg. *Fab.* 239 is different: *dum eum (sc. Athamantem) fugit*.

7 f. The reason why Althaea killed Meleager is mentioned at length in Hyg. *Fab.* 239: *quod is (sc. Meleager) avunculos suos occiderat*. Perhaps our list had again ὀργῇ at the end of 8.

<div align="right">M. A. HARDER</div>

4308. Mythological Compendium

This fragment is part of a list of children of goddesses and mortal men. Only part of the children's names is preserved and once the father's name (3 Χρυϲάοροϲ), but it is clear that this is the same list as Hes. *Th.* 975–1018. Hence the extensive supplements. For similar lists cf. Hyg. *Fab.* 233 *Quae immortales cum mortalibus concubuerunt* (lost); Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2, 33, 8–9; Arnob. *Adv. Nat.* 4, 27. On Hesiod being used as a source for this kind of list see J. Schwartz, *Pseudo-Hesiodeia*, Leiden 1960, 281 ff.; W. Luppe, *Cron. Erc.* 14 (1984) 109–124; M. L. West, *ZPE* 61 (1985) 1–7.

The writing is rather cursive, with a number of ligatures (e.g. of αι, αρ, γα, ει, ϲι) and I have not been able to find a parallel among literary hands. Somewhat comparable, though more cursive, is Seider, *Pal. gr. Pap.* I 30 (a document dated in 114 AD). I have therefore tentatively dated the papyrus in ii AD.

```
         .   .        .    .   .
       ] . εληναγαυ . .[      'Αρμονία καὶ Κάδμοϲ 'Ινὼ Ϲ]εμέλην 'Αγαύην
       ].                     Αὐτονόην Πολύδωρο]ν·
       ]αιχρυϲαροϲγηρυονε[    ἐγένοντο Καλλιρόηϲ κ]αὶ Χρυϲάοροϲ Γηρυονε[ύϲ·
       ] . νωνκαιημαθιων      'Ηοῦϲ καὶ Τιθωνοῦ Μέ]μνων καὶ 'Ημαθίων·
   5   ]ν                     'Ηοῦϲ καὶ Κεφάλου Φαέθω]ν·
       ]δειοϲ                 Μηδείαϲ καὶ 'Ιάϲονοϲ Μή]δειοϲ·
       ]κοϲ                   Ψαμάθηϲ καὶ Αἰακοῦ Φῶ]κοϲ·
       ] . λευϲ               Θέτιδοϲ καὶ Πηλέωϲ 'Αχι]λλεύϲ·
       ] . ειαϲ               'Αφροδίτηϲ καὶ 'Αγχίϲου 'Α]ἰνείαϲ·
  10   ] . αιλατεινοϲ         Κίρκηϲ καὶ 'Οδυϲϲέωϲ "Αγριο]ϲ καὶ Λατεῖνοϲ·
       ]ναυϲιθοοϲκαιναυϲ[     Καλυψοῦϲ καὶ 'Οδυϲϲέωϲ] Ναυϲίθοοϲ καὶ Ναυϲ[ίνοοϲ
```

1] . . , traces on loose fibre (both slightly rounded parts of bottoms of letters) and a few specks   . .[, feet of two verticals   2] . , faint trace on edge   4] . , triangular letter or right part of μ   8] . , blotted trace on edge   9] . . , tops of three verticals   10] . . , traces at bottom

1 Presumably the list began with Demeter and Iasius as parents of Plutus, as in Hes. *Th.* 969–974.

3 ἐγένοντο: this supplement is suggested by space and syntax, as from now on the children are in the nominative and the one preserved parent in the genitive (space does not seem to accommodate ἐκ + genitive, on which see KG I 374). The papyrus writes the father's name as χρυϲαροϲ.

10 Our list probably contained Agrius and Latinus, who are mentioned as sons of Circe and Odysseus in Hes. *Th.* 1013. It seems to be based on a text which did not contain 1014 (left out by some manuscripts and testimonia; cf. Solmsen's apparatus).

<div align="right">M. A. HARDER</div>

4309. Prose

5 1B.44/F(a)+53/K   Fr. 1 7.4 × 16.7 cm   Third century

This papyrus consists of 16 fragments, of which fr. 1 is the largest. A lower margin of 4.6 cm is preserved in fr. 1 (but it is stripped for ca. 5 mm below fr. 1 col. ii 16, so that there may have been another line of writing there); an upper margin of 3.6 cm is preserved in fr. 5. The intercolumnar space is ca. 1.3 cm and the lines are ca. 21 letters wide. In the upper margin of fr. 5 we find NC, which seems to indicate the number of the column in the roll. For this kind of number cf. e.g. PSI XII 1284 recto (hist.; ii AD): col. 82 of a roll with columns of ca. 16 letters; III **412** (Jul. Afr. κεϲτοί; iii AD): col. 35 and 36 of a roll with columns of ca. 36 letters. For more examples see *GMAW*² p. 16. The back is blank.

The papyrus is written in medium-sized capitals with a tendency to lean slightly to the right. The writing is roughly bilinear, but φ (and presumably ψ; cf. fr. 17.3) and sometimes ι project below and above the line. The ο is very small. The hand is informal, with some tendency to write letters in one movement (cf. α, η, κ, ν, υ and τ) and to cursive forms (cf. μ with deep saddle and ξ). The φ and ι are sometimes adorned with a small serif. The τ is sometimes joined to ο or ω. There are no lectional signs or punctuation.

We may compare VI **856** (a hypomnema on Ar. *Ach.*, assigned to iii AD = *GMAW* 73) and LII **3652** (a hypothesis of Euripides, early iii AD). This would suggest iii AD as a date for our papyrus.

The contents of this papyrus are still a matter of conjecture. We know more or less what it is about, but we do not know what it really says or what it is. It deals with Thessaly and Antiphos and Pheidippos, whose offspring colonized Thessaly and gave it its name. There are a few clues as to what kind of text it might be:

(1) there are a number of links with the *Catalogue of Ships* in *Il.* 2 (especially *Il.* 2, 677 ff. and 749 f.) and the contents recall Strabo 9, 444 C, where Strabo says after a passage about eponymous heroes and names of Thessaly τινὲϲ δὲ (sc. φαϲὶ) ἀπὸ Ἐφύραϲ τῆϲ Θεϲπρωτίδοϲ ἀπογόνουϲ Ἀντίφου καὶ Φειδίππου, τῶν Θεϲϲαλοῦ τοῦ Ἡρακλέουϲ, ἐπελθόνταϲ ἀπὸ Θεϲϲαλοῦ τοῦ ἑαυτῶν προγόνου τὴν χώραν ὀνομάϲαι. This is probably based on the same passage in Apollodorus' treatise on the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* from which also Apollod. Περὶ Νεῶν *FGrH* 244 F 164 is derived. As is suggested by this fragment Apollodorus probably dealt yet more elaborately with these matters (cf. also Jacoby ad loc.);

(2) the text contains a great number of quotations of and references to prose-authors and poets (see e.g. fr. 2.21 ff.; 9.3 ff.), none of whom can be dated later than iv/iii BC (considering the size and state of the papyrus this may be accidental), unless Didymus was referred to in fr. 1 col. i 15 f. It clearly was a learned work, perhaps from the Hellenistic period;

(3) it is suggested by several passages that this was not an anonymous compilation of material, but written by a well-defined author who was critically reflecting on his own sources and referring backward and forward in his own work (see on fr. 3.6 ff.; 7.5 ff. and 11.2 f.).

The possible connection with Apollodorus, the restriction to early scholarship and the suggestion of a specific author make it tempting to think of Apollod. Περὶ Νεῶν, a learned monograph on the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* in 12 books (cf. Schwartz in *RE* I, 2863–71 s.v. Apollodorus 61; R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* I, Oxford 1968, 259; Jacoby in *FGrH* 2 D p. 795), or of a work in which Apollodorus was paraphrased, excerpted or used as a source. In the latter case one may think of a historical/geographical work in which Thessaly was discussed or another learned commentary on the *Iliad*: such works, like e.g. Strabo or Epaphroditus of Chaeronea's ὑπομνήματα εἰϲ Ὅμηρον, may contain many elements from Apollodorus, but the connection need not be very close. For a list of works on Thessaly see Stählin-Hiller von Gaertringen-Lippold in *RE* VIA 85 ff. (s.v. Thessalia).

The order in which the fragments are printed is based on their size, as no certainty could be reached about their actual order. Computer searches of the *TLG* did not lead to the identification of any of the fragments with known prose or poetry.

I wish to thank S. L. Radt for his comments on an earlier version of this edition.

Fr. 1   col. i   col. ii

                 .   .   .
                    ]ε . [
                    ]ων[
                    ] . ϲ . [
                    ] . α[
5   ] . α[
                    ] . . ε[
                       ] . [.   .

         ] . τιο . [
         ] . κα . [. . .]ν   ] . . [
10   ] . [.]ε . υ . . και   εκφ . ϲ . [
   ] . . . . . ιοϲφειδιππον   ομενγ . [
      ] . ονκοϲμητορα   καιταϲαιτιαϲ . . [
      ] . ιενη . αθεαι . .   5   αϲαπελ[
      ]οϲιππ . . . . μαϲ   . ειδιεν . [

15]μοcενταιcα
] ιαιcετειμεν
]ειδιππον
] ροιαcπλε
]εφυρατρι
20]νκαιιωναc
]αλιαν
] ομε
] c
]

. . . .

Fr. 2

] [
] [
] δ [
] α [
5]υποροιcινγλ[
] [ ] αμα ητ[
] c [ ] [ ]ε [
]ετιcα [
] ιcατεπα [
10]τοπεριδ [
]νκαcαντο ν [
] νπατ [ ] δεαι[
]μουφθιενουδεδω[
]παραιγιμιω[
15]ωταδ [ ] [
]νυπερ[
]ρωποιcιλ[
]δοcδιδου[
] θεοφιλε [

αδελφο [
χρηcμ [
ταcπολλ[
10 τωνομα[
αριcτοτ [
νουcοιε[
πλουντο[
δοcδιοτ[
15 νηcδυνα[
τευμενο[

20] τον[
] αδδευδ[
] λητοροc[
] α κιοπαι[
] [ ] ιχμον[
25] λ [ ] εcτι[
]αιγ παν [
] [ ]αcιλε [
] [ ] ν [
] [
30] [

. . . .

Fr. 3

. [.
] [
]υπρ[
]θιγγαν[
]νωνμη [
5 επ ετελε [
π [ ]ξεναγορ[
κατατηνκω [
ανκαιδαμαcτ[
cιωcυπερτηcτ [
10 cτρατειαcεπα[
τεcκαιοτιουτοcκα[
τηνπατριδακαι[
τωαντιφοcουτροπ[
cινφ'κανοιτωνκατα[
15 ειρημενωνουχο[ ] ιδ [
] υcινπεριπαντ [
] [

. . . . .

Fr. 4

      col. i   col. ii

  .   .   .

        ]ν . [.] . [
        ] . . ας[
        ]τουδι . [
        ] . ςπρ . [
5] . [. . . . .] . ες . [
  ]πειντατε[. . .] . αιοτ[
  ] . . λ[.]cπαρα . βων . ην[
  ] . . [.]οτω . [. .]μονι . . [
  ] . ς . ευρενα . νπα . α . [
10] . . [.]φ . [.] . [ ]ππ . ρ . [.] . . . . [
  ]αν[.]πολ[.] . . . ν . υδο . [
  ] . οναν[.]ξιμενηνεν
  ] . . κυπριακοιςτ . [.] . . . [κ̣[
  ]δελφοναυ . [.] . [. .] . . . [
15]τονενο[. .] . . [. .] . δι   . [
    ] . . [. .]πολ[. . . .]ε
    ] . κεν . [. .]ων
    ] . ε . ιλιωκα[

  .   .   .   .

Fr. 5

    Nς
  τηςμεταβασεωςτη[
  θεccαλιανονκαιαυ . [
  μιζεινε . γονταπα[
  ]ςινειναιπ . ριεκεινο[
5]ρονονκαιδιαταυτα[
   ]ανυπολε . [. . .] . [
    ]ντιονδ[
    ]ητουκα̣[
     ]εροc . [

  .   .   .

Fr. 6

  .   .   .

     ] . [.] . . [
     ] . . ς . . . . [
     ]ωμει . [
     ]αποθ[
5] . . . [. .]α . [
  ] . με . ο[.] . π[
  ]εκαταμα[
  ] . . . . . υεχιρω . [
  ] . . . . [.] . . ειδ . . . . [
10] . ε . [.] . . ο . υκ . [
  ] . δ . ςυα . ειδα[
  ] . λαυτι . . . εικ . [
  ] . . . . αγαλ[
  ] . ολεμουφυλο . [

Fr. 7

  .   .   .

  ] . . [
  λα . . [
  πα . [
  ραν . [
5 ιςτορ[. .] . . [
  υςτε . ον . [
  απ . ιρως[
  τωςιλι . [
  κλεο . ν[
10   . φυγα[.] . . [
  μ . οντε[
  να[. .] . ν . [
  αλλ[
  μυρ[
15] . ε[

  .   .   .

Fr. 8

```
        .    .    .
        ].....[
       ]θε.....[
]........ιχ[
]τη.....αδ[
]δεν.ε..[.].ε.ειο[
      ].α...απε.[
      ].....ϲεαι...[
   ].δ.....π.[
      ].......[
]....αη..[
]..δυ.χε.[
].ϲϲα...[
```

Fr. 9

```
              .         .
              ].π..[.].[
        ].[........].κου.[
      ].ρ.[........]..μν.ν[
      ].νιε[.....].κλη.εν[
   ]ερραιβ...[.].[.].ριϲ...α[
]νιφοεντο[.]..[.]..ου..[
θανανδρωνε...τοιϲ[
.ουρανιϲτ[]εν.......[
         ]ο..[.....]...[
         ]..[
                ]ερ[
            .         .
```

Fr. 10

```
   .         .        .
   .......[
.λεουϲκ[
.εγανενο[
.νχαλκ[
```

```
...τονε.[
.τουδηβ[
γενοντο.[
οϲαιατιοϲου[
..αγενεϲ[
δαυτοιϲιν[
ταιοϲομιλη[
τουτωνθε[
...].εμν[
..]ππϲκαια[
   ]..[
   ]....[
   ].....[
```

Fr. 11

```
   .    .    .
]..[..]ε..
]ειρη[.]..μεν
]ϲβυβλου
]λακεδαι
]ϲαδηρα
   ]γων
   ]πυ
   ].λε
   .    .    .
```

Fr. 12

```
   .    .    .
   ].[
   ]..ε.[
]...τερα.[
].υναιθων.[
```

5   ]αμφοτερ[
      ]. αιχαλκ. [
        ]φηϲι. [
      ] . οπητ[
        ]ιοϲθε[
10   ] . [

Fr. 13

    •   •

      ]καιοα. [
      ] . . . . . . [
      ] . . . . . . [
      ] . καμ . . θ . [

    •   •

Fr. 14

   •   •

        ] . [
      ]αξει[
      ] . ενο[
        ] . α . [
5   ] . [
        ]η[
        ] . [

  • • •

Fr. 15

   •   •

        ] . [
      ]τεϲ. [
      ] . ω[.] . τ[

Fr. 16

  •   •

  τ[

  •   •

Fr. 1 col. i

1 . [, vertical descending below the line (ι likely)   3] ., faint traces (ε would fit)   [, top of α, δ or λ (very faint)   4] ., perh. right part of ω or ν   5] ., vertical   6] . ., top right of letter; α, δ or λ   7] . [, top of vertical   8] ., end of oblique   [, rounded base   9] ., end of rising oblique (υ would fit)   . [, triangular letter; trace on edge (rounded letter conceivable)   10] . [, speck at bottom   υ . . ., specks (foot + top of long central vertical?); after υ: specks, probably part of vertical; end of oblique   11] . . . ., traces mostly on twisted loose fibre   12] ., foot of long vertical (ι or ρ possible; space slightly favours ι)   13] ., indefinite traces on displaced papyrus (α conceivable) . , ι, γ or ρ . . ., medial horizontal + sloping vertical (η fits); middle part of η fits   14 . . . ., rounded letter or ι with serif at bottom; top of rounded letter; top of triangular letter or υ; specks (ν or η compatible) 15 . ., specks; then a long horizontal stroke level with tops of letters (either a letter + an abbreviation or a letter [τ ?] with extended horizontal stroke, like α in fr. 1 col. i 12 or ε in fr. 1 col. i 22)   16] ., small horizontal or rounded trace at mid-height   18] ., end of horizontal top   22] ., end of horizontal top joined to ο   25] ., probably right part of top of fork of υ.

Fr. 1 col. ii

1] . . [, foot of sloping vertical; rounded trace at bottom   2 ., small vertical trace on edge of gap . [, triangular letter   3 . [, top of triangular letter (?)   4 . . [, foot of vertical hooked to right; trace only   6 ., vertical (γ or ρ fits)   . [, large rounded letter (e.g. ε)   7 . [, upright thickening at top (e.g. ν)   8 . [, rounded letter   11 . [, part of rounded letter + specks above and below it 14 δοϲ: ο with anomalous flat top.

Fr. 2

1] . . [, rounded base; low speck   2] . . . . [, speck on edge; χ likely; vertical; triangular letter 3] . . ., speck; thick vertical trace; right part of δ (?)   . . [, vertical; speck; sloping vertical thickened at mid-height   4] ., α likely   . . . [, rounded letter; blotted rounded trace; forked trace (υ or two obliques joining each other ?)   6] . [, τ or π likely   ] ., δ or λ   . ., first, rounded letter; ο or ρ   7] ., triangular letter; specks   . [, horizontal top   ] . . . . [, part of horizontal top; τ likely; faint traces; small loop (α ?)   . [, rounded letter; vague trace (perh. rounded)   8 . . . [, foot of vertical + thin horizontal trace (τ or γ ?); medial horizontal joined to vertical at left (ε or η ?); traces suggest δ   9] ., α more likely than λ   . [, indefinite trace   10 . . [, faint traces (perhaps ο or ρ; then triangular letter or χ or κ)   11 . ., big rounded letter; vertical trace + horizontal top   . . . [, indefinite, blotted traces 12] . . . ., rounded top; faint traces; faint rounded trace   . [, faint rounded trace   ] . ., flat or rounded base + slightly rounded trace above (ο or ϲ would fit); faint rounded trace (perhaps top of triangular letter) 13 below the first υ a rounded trace on a loose piece of papyrus, which does not belong here   15 before ω: speck on displaced papyrus; there is some ink on the back of this piece (not clear whether it belongs here) . [, lower part of ε likely   ] . . [, π likely; high hooked trace (top of ρ ?)   19] ., foot of vertical; top of rounded letter (?)   . [, rounded letter   20] . . . ., the merest traces   21] . . . ., slightly sloping medial horizontal; rounded trace at bottom; beginning of oblique or sloping vertical; vague trace (κ not excluded)   22] ., ε likely; specks; triangular letter   23] ., small loop (ρ ?)   . . ., long oblique suggests χ; triangular letter; end of oblique   24] . . [, μ likely; specks   ] ., triangular letter   25] ., rounded base; end of oblique (+ bit of loop of α ?)   . [, rounded letter   ] ., speck (bottom right)   26 . ., blot shaped like top of α; top of ϲ ?   . . . [, triangular letter; the merest traces   27] . . . [, faint traces at bottom; horizontal base (δ likely); indefinite ink   . [, high speck (top of ι fits)   28] . [, rounded letter (ο ?); slightly sloping vertical or left side of rounded letter with ink above   ] ., small loop (ο or ρ)   . . [, horizontal top with ink below (π likely); top of long vertical   29] . . . [, horizontal + rounded trace below (ε or θ possible); vague vertical; indefinite traces   30] . . [, specks.

Fr. 3

1].[, speck at bottom   4 .[, bottom left part of δ or α   5 ..., speck (top of letter); π or τ .[, foot of vertical on edge   6 .[, top left of letter (ε likely)   7 .[, vertical   9 .[, small rounded trace (ο ligatured to τ likely)   15 [].., triangular letter   .[, foot of vertical; horizontal base (δ likely)   16].., horizontal top + ink below on loose fibre; top of small loop (ο or ρ); specks on both sides of gap (ο fits)   .[, rounded letter ligatured to τ (size points to ο rather than ω)   17]......[, top of vertical; rounded top (?) + some ink below it on displaced papyrus; horizontal top; top of α, δ or λ; small loop (ρ or ο); specks, partly on loose fibre.

Fr. 4 col. i

1 .[, specks   ].[, foot of vertical   2].., hooked trace on edge; π or τ likely   3 .[, rounded letter or φ   .4].., specks at mid-height and bottom   [, small loop (α or ο)   5].[, part of vertical + specks to right   ]., triangular letter (λ likely)   .[, horizontal top   6]., horizontal at bottom   7].., rounded letter; triangular letter (α or δ)   .., beginning of oblique; vague traces at bottom (fitting α)   ηv[, faint vertical ink on edge of gap; the next letters are on a loose piece of papyrus and out of alignment (and not necessarily part of this line)   8].[, rounded base or end of oblique + ink to left (e.g. α or ω); faint trace (triangular letter or v)   ..[, top and foot of vertical (long ι ?); perh. χ (part of base and top left)   .[, α or ο; rounded or oblique trace   9]., end of oblique   ., speck at bottom + end of oblique (triangular letter)   ., foot of vertical; slightly rounded base (ε ?)   ., top of vertical; specks (ι or v)   .[, specks and rounded trace on loose fibres   10 .[, horizontal top with specks below; top of high, sloping vertical (or part of supralinear letter) + ink to left   .[, θ or ε   ].[, oblique trace sloping down to right; after this room for a narrow letter before π   .., speck; speck (top right of e.g. ς)   .[].., medial horizontal; specks; medial horizontal + speck above (ε ?); blotted traces (partly on displaced papyrus)   11]..., triangular letter; triangular letter (between these two letters high supralinear dot ?); speck   ., specks at bottom (rounded letter ?)   .[, trace at mid-height on edge 12].[, right end of horizontal or rounded top   13]., specks on edge (vertical ?); rounded letter ..[, τ or π; rounded letter   ]...[, horizontal top; specks; top of vertical   14 .[, left end of horizontal top   ].[, vertical + low horizontal ink to left   ]...[, horizontal top + vertical joined at right; vertical trace; speck   15]..[, vertical + ink to the left; right part of rounded letter   ., speck; foot of vertical + medial horizontal (η ?)   16]., top of vertical (above it some sloping horizontal ink); speck 17].., end of horizontal or rising oblique and perhaps some ink below it   .[, top of vertical   18]., right end of horizontal or rounded top + top of vertical (v fits).

Fr. 4 col. ii

15 .[, horizontal trace at bottom.

Fr. 5

2 .[, left part of horizontal top (τ or π)   3 ., rounded letter (ο likely)   4 ., specks fit ε 6 .[, speck at bottom (beginning of oblique or sloping vertical)   ].[, specks   9 .[, high speck.

Fr. 6

1].[, small loop (ο or ρ)   ].[, indefinite trace at bottom; rounded trace at bottom   2].., two rounded traces at bottom   ....[, vertical; faint rounded trace; indefinite traces   3 .[, left part of χ or λ   5]...[, vague trace (rounded letter ?); speck; oblique   .[, faint trace on edge (triangular ?)   6]., rounded letter or ρ   ., faint traces at bottom (perh. part of v)   ]., ε likely   8]., indefinite traces; rounded letter (?); specks on edge of gap; horizontal top   .[, foot of sloping vertical + ink to right   9 .[, beginning of oblique; sloping vertical; small loop + blotted traces to left and right; vertical + specks on displaced papyrus (which may not belong here)   ].., end of oblique; top of vertical ....[, faint indefinite traces; right part of θ (?); foot of slightly sloping vertical   10]., ς or ο   ..[, γι or π; ρο or η likely   ]., end of oblique + speck to left at bottom; horizontal top joined to vertical at left (length points to π)   ., oblique (triangular letter ?)   .[, vertical with curl to right at bottom (ι would fit) 11]., specks at bottom + horizontal top (τ or π); vertical trace (?)   ., part of loop on edge of gap (α ?) ., specks (π or v compatible)   12]., small hook + speck to right (top of letter[s])   ..., ςο likely; thick vertical trace widening at top   .[, rounded trace on edge   13]...., rounded trace (ο or ω fits);

small loop (ρ ?); top of λ or δ; top of vertical (?)   αλ[: between the letters a low speck: end of α or part of narrow letter (ι)   14]., horizontal top   .[, vertical trace on edge.

Fr. 7

1].[, end of oblique; vertical trace on edge   2 .[, rounded letter (ε or ς); α, δ, ξ or ζ   3 .[, specks   4 .[, top of vertical   5]..[, speck at bottom + oblique (v ?); rounded trace on edge (too steep for α ?)   6 ., speck   .[, horizontal trace at bottom   7 ., rounded letter   8 .[, speck at bottom   9 ., rounded letter   10 ., rounded trace   ].[, horizontal top; small ο or ρ 11 ., α possible   12].v.[, top of vertical; faint traces (top of letter)   15]., beginning and top of oblique.

Fr. 8

1].[, specks; top of vertical; two rounded letters (?)   2 ....[, small horizontal trace at bottom; specks (rounded letter ?); triangular letter; rounded trace at bottom (rounded letter or end of oblique) 3]......, slightly sloping horizontal + ink above and below (φ.); horizontal trace at bottom + some ink above; specks; slightly sloping vertical; ε or θ; η or v; triangular letter (?)   4 ...., specks; τ or π; bottom of ο or α; part of low slightly sloping vertical   5 δε: above left part of ε some supralinear ink .ε.[, specks (horizontal top ?); high specks (consistent with top of ρ); rounded trace at bottom + speck above it   ]., lower part of κ or χ   ., speck (narrow letter)   6]., specks   ., horizontal top + some ink below (τ likely); rounded letter or ρ   .[, blotted traces on edge   7]...., end of oblique; left part of rounded letter; specks; top of vertical; specks   .[, ε or θ; rounded trace at bottom with some ink above and below   8]., oblique (fork of v likely)   ....., specks; vertical   .[, horizontal top   9]......[, blotted indefinite traces; fourth letter: horizontal top + vertical descending at middle; fifth letter: top of vertical; specks   10]...., horizontal + ink below; faint indefinite traces   ., top right of rounded letter; thin horizontal top + ink below   11]., rounded trace (top of letter)   ., top of rounded letter   .[, speck (top of vertical)   12]., ε fits   ..[, triangular letter; vertical trace.

Fr. 9

1]., slightly rounded trace at bottom (ε likely)   .[, rounded letter; beginning of oblique (μ or λ)].[, specks   2].[, specks   ]., triangular letter   .[, top of vertical + low speck to right   3]., vertical trace   .[, left part of ζ, δ or ω most likely (+ supralinear ink or dirt)   ]., speck; α or λ likely   ., small rounded letter   4]., α or λ   ]., specks   ., specks   5 ..[, specks (lower part of ιcι compatible)   ].[, specks at bottom   ]., specks   ., vertical; vertical + specks to left at mid-height (v ?); specks; right part of loop + ink below (ρ fits)   6].[, oblique or rounded trace at bottom; high oblique or rounded trace   ]., horizontal top + ink below   .[, sloping vertical (as in η or κ); speck 7 ..., top of vertical; bottom of ε or ς; vertical trace   8 ., top of ρ likely   ......[, horizontal top; bottom of small rounded letter; v fits; beginning of sloping vertical + horizontal top (γ ?); vertical bending backwards at top; vertical leaning to left + blotted medial horizontal (η or v ?)   9 ..[, two joining obliques (α or λ); rounded letter; δ likely; top of vertical   10]..[, horizontal top; top of vertical.

Fr. 10

1 ......[, feet of letters: oblique; specks; end of oblique or rounded base; specks; end of oblique; foot of sloping vertical; bottom of rounded letter   2 ., specks (κ compatible)   3 ., slightly sloping horizontal + specks to left (γ or τ)   4 ., beginning of α fits; vertical joined by medial horizontal (η fits) 5 .., horizontal top + specks below; indefinite traces (ε ?)   .[, left part of rounded letter   6 ., α or λ   7 ., φ likely   9 ., specks; γ or τ   13]., rounded trace at bottom; foot of vertical + speck at mid-height to right   15]..[, speck at bottom; rounded trace at bottom   16]....[, speck; oblique + ink above it; indefinite traces at bottom   17]......[, tops of letters: small loop; speck; triangular letter; speck; small rounded trace (mid-height).

Fr. 11

1].[, faint traces at bottom (perh. supralinear ink above ι in 2)   .., foot of vertical; specks   2]., end of oblique   8]., right end of horizontal top.

Fr. 12

1] [, faint trace   2] ., end of oblique; speck at bottom + small horizontal trace at bottom (perh. α or λ)   [, foot of vertical   3] . ., 3 or 4 letters: π or τ; right part of loop of ο or ρ (or left part of λ); rounded trace (or right end of oblique of λ) at bottom; specks on edge of gap (bottom left + top right of letter)   [, left part of rounded letter   4] ., ε or right end of κ   above υ supralinear trace (small ρ, perhaps preceded and followed by more supralinear ink)   [, rounded letter   6] ., speck (top right of letter, κ compatible)   [, rounded letter   7 [, vertical + speck on edge at mid-height (ν fits) 8] ., specks on edge   10] [, top of vertical (?).

Fr. 13

1 [, speck at bottom   2] . . . . . [, oblique trace, sloping to right; blotted indefinite traces 3] . . . . . [, blotted indefinite traces   4] ., faint trace (top of letter ?)   . ., specks; rounded letter (ε fits best)   [, blotted traces on edge.

Fr. 14

1] [, foot of vertical   3] ., speck on edge (top of letter)   4] ., speck at top   [, λ or χ 5] [, specks   7] [, speck.

Fr. 15

1] [, speck at bottom   2 [, beginning of long oblique (perh. χ)   3] ., speck on edge (top right)   ] ., top of vertical.

Fr. 1 col. i

8 Perhaps Αἰ]άτιος[. Aiatos is attested as a son of Pheidippos and father of Thessalos. He is said to have migrated to Thessaly; cf. Polyaen. 8, 44; Charax FGrH 103 F 6. He may have been referred to in the epinician for Keles in Simon. PMG 511, but the evidence allows no conclusions. Sometimes the name is spelled Aiatios; cf. also fr. 10. 8.

9 κα . [. .]ν: some form of καλέω seems possible (e.g. καλο[ύ(ι)]ν would fit space and traces if written not too closely).

10 εφυρα can be read; on Ephyra see comm. on 16 ff.

11] . . . . . ιος: this may be the poet who is quoted in 12 (where see comm.). One could think of e.g. Lysimachos, who is described as ὁ τοὺς νόστους ποιήσας Κολοφώνιος (cf. e.g. Eust. 1796, 45; FGrH 382 F 15), or of a description like ὁ Κολοφώνιος for Antimachos or Nicander (who wrote an epic poem Οἰταϊκά). The width of the column suggests that only the ethnic was mentioned, but Κο]λοφώνιος cannot be verified from the papyrus.

Φείδιππον: Pheidippos was the son of Thessalos and grandson of Herakles (cf. Il. 2, 679; Σ AR 3, 1090). With his brother Antiphos he took part in the Trojan war with thirty ships from Kos and Nisyra (Il. 2, 676 ff.; Strabo 14, 653 C; DS 5, 54; Σ Pi. N 4, 40; Diktys 1, 14, 17). After the Trojan war they went to Ephyra in Thesprotia, where they were also buried (Artist. Peplos 640, 39 Rose). One of their descendants, another Thessalos or his father Aiatios (see on 8) moved from Thesprotia to Thessaly, which was called after Thessalos (Vell. Pat. 1, 3, 1; Strabo 9, 444 C). Cf. Höfer in Roscher III 2, 2291 s.v. Pheidippos; Hiller von Gaertringen in RE VIa, 113 (s.v. Thessalos).

12 κοσμήτορα points to a quotation from poetry, of which also 13 and perhaps 14 may be part;] ον is probably part of an adjective going with it, and one would expect a genitive to follow. Cf. e.g. AR 1, 194 γηραλέον κοσμήτορα παιδός; in Homer the word is always connected with λαῶν (e.g. Il. 1, 16; Od. 18, 152).

13 It is attractive to read and divide the letters as follows:] ι εν ηγαθεαι τηι[. Cf. e.g. Il. 2, 722 Λήμνωι ἐν ἠγαθέηι.

14 ιππ . . . . . μας: the name Ἱπποδάμας, the only proper name that suggests itself, is too short and does not particularly fit the context and traces. It seems best to divide]ος ιππ . . . . μας assuming that a new word began after some form of ἵππος or ἱππ(ε)ιος. The latter is attested as an adjective of gods like Zeus, Ares or Poseidon (Ποσειδῶν]ος ἱππίου would fit in).

15 f.]μος εν ταις α . ¯ |] ιαις: apparently a reference to an author and his work. As]ριαις is a likely reading we may assume that the work was referred to as ἱστο]ρίαις. Then the end of 15 must be part of a

further qualification. The stroke indicates an abbreviation, and there are the following possibilities: (1) name of an author, so that ἱστορίαις must mean 'commentaries', as in e.g. Σ Lyc. 911 ἐν ... Πινδάρου ἱστορίαις. If so, the author in]μος could be Didymos and α could be Aischylos. Difficulties with this solution are that (a) we are left with room for four letters in 16; (b) that α . does not look like α ¯; (2) adjective going with ἱστορίαις, in which case Ἀττικαῖς springs to mind. There are several Atthidographers in -mos, e.g. Kleidemos (FGrH 323); Phanodemos (FGrH 325); Kadmos (FGrH 335). The titles given for their works vary; only of Kadmos is the title Ἀττικαὶ ἱστορίαι attested (FGrH 335 T 1). The difficulties here are the same as with (1): (a) awkward spacing at the beginning of 16; (b) α . ¯ does not look like α ¯. It should also be noted that abbreviations for Ἀττικός are usually αττι^ vel sim.; cf. K. McNamee, Abbreviations in Greek literary papyri and ostraca, Ann Arbor 1981, 12.

16 ff. The train of thought may be as follows: '(author Y said in work X that) in the ...th year (Antiphos and) Pheidippos sailed from Troy (and did something in) Ephyra'. This implies that we have to take εφυρα as a dative without iota adscript and that the number of the year must have been indicated by a letter. Perhaps it was told here how Antiphos and Pheidippos settled and died in Ephyra and were buried there (ἀπὸ Τροίας πλέ[[οντας θανεῖν or οἰκεῖν ἐν] Ἐφύραι would nicely fill the gap in 18 f.). On Pheidippos going to Ephyra cf. Vell. Pat. 1, 1, 1 Phidippus Ephyram in Thesprotia (sc. occupauit); on Antiphos and Pheidippos Arist. Peplos fr. 640, 39 Rose.

19 Probably about Ephyra in Thesprotia; see on 16 ff. Cf. on this place also Paus. 9, 36, 3; Strabo 7, 324 C; on Thesprotian Ephyra as the starting-point for the colonization of Thessaly see Strabo 9, 444 C (quoted in intr.).

τρι: perhaps corresponding to ἔτει μὲν in 16. It could be 'the third year' or 'the third generation'. The first could lead to τρί[τωι δὲ (sc. ἔτει) Ἀντίφο]ν καὶ Ἴωνας, which fits the space very well. If these people went to Thessaly a verb could follow in 21. In Σ Lyc. 911 we have a version of the story where Antiphos is indeed going to Thessaly, whereas Pheidippos ends up in Cyprus. The latter could lead to e.g. τρί[τηι δὲ γενεᾶι Θεσσαλὸ]ν καὶ Ἴωνας, which, however, is definitely too long, although it fits in with the tradition that Thessalos, the grandson of Pheidippos (see on 8), colonized Thessalia (see on 1). As to the space there may be better prospects in taking]ν as the end of an infinitive, e.g. ἥκει]ν. For the idea of the 'third generation' cf. also Th. 1, 12, 3 (60 years after the Trojan war there was still a great deal of resettlement).

20 Ἴωνας: I assume that in this context this refers to the Athenians in the Homeric sense (cf. Kleidemos FGrH 323 F 13). I found no indications that they went to Thessaly with Antiphos or his descendants after the Trojan war. But, as a great deal of nostos-colonizing was attributed to them, the idea is not implausible (cf. T. W. Allen, The Homeric Catalogue of Ships, Oxford 1921, 55).

21 Θεσσ]αλίαν seems likely. Another possibility—though less likely—is Ἰτ]αλίαν (cf. Ps.-Apollod. Epit. 6, 15).

Fr. 1 col. ii

2 εκφ . ς . [: probably εκφυσα[, which may be either from ἐκφυσάω or aorist of ἐκφύω. The latter seems more promising, e.g. some form of the participle ἐκφύσας.

5 ff. In 5 we may divide ασα πελ[or ας απελ[. For the first possibility cf. Σ Lyc. 911 Ἄντιφος δὲ ὁ Θεσσαλοῦ εἰς Πελασγοὺς ἐλθὼν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατασχὼν Θεσσαλίαν ἐκάλεσε. But the fem. -ασα is awkward. With ας απελ[we may think of some form of ἀπελθεῖν, -ών etc. and -ας could be the ending of e.g. an accusative plural or a masculine participle. This second division is more attractive. The subject of 5 ff. may still be Antiphos and Pheidippos: ἀδελφόν in 7 would fit a context about brothers. Alternatively this passage may be about Aiat(i)os' colonization of Thessaly. Cf. Polyaen. 8, 44: Aiatos went to Thessaly with his sister Polykleia. An oracle (cf. χρησμ . [in 8) had said that the one who first crossed the Acheloos would be king of the new land. Polykleia pretended to have hurt her foot and asked her brother (cf. ἀδελφο . [in 7) to carry her across the river (cf. perhaps διενε[γκεῖν vel sim. in 6). He did so, and at the last moment she jumped out of his arms onto the shore, saying she was the first to enter the land. Aiatos rather admired her for this and married her. They called their son Thessalos. Although verbal reminiscences of Polyaen. 8, 44 may be detected they do not seem sufficient to prove anything for 5 ff.

6 διενε[γκεῖν vel sim.?

11 αριστοτ . [: perhaps a reference to Aristotle (or part of a quotation containing e.g. the word δυςαριστοτόκεια [Il. 18, 54] ?).

14 δοc διοτ[: διοτ[might be from διοτρεφής, which occurs e.g. in *Il.* 2, 660 and Hes. *Th.* 82 διοτρεφέων βαcιλήων (and δοc *might* point to Hesiod); another possibility is διότ[ι.

15 f. ἐcτρα]|τευμένο[ι *vel sim.*?

Fr. 2

5]υποροιcιν γλ[: the dative ending points to a quotation from a poet. If from epic we can choose between εὐρ]υπόροιcιν and ὠκ]υπόροιcιν; if not, there is also ταχ]υπόροιcιν. The first word is used of the sea (e.g. *Il.* 15, 381; *Od.* 4, 432; 12, 2); the second of ships (e.g. *Il.* 2, 351 νηυcὶν ἐν ὠκυπόροιcιν; 10, 442); the third too (e.g. E. *Hel.* 1272). I found no overlap with Homer or Hesiod. As to γλ[we may think e.g. either of the name of an author or of γλ[αφυραῖcι, another epithet suitable for ships (attested in epic and Pindar; cf. *Il.* 2, 680). In the latter case the metre may be choriambic (–] ∪∪ – – ∪∪ – ∪). In *Il.* 2, 712 Γλαφύραc is mentioned as a place-name.

6 -δαμαc ρητ[ωρ? No proper name recommends itself particularly.

8 f. Perhaps]εττιcατε δ[and]αιcατε, which may be another quotation. But it is easy to think of other divisions of the letters (e.g.] ετιcα τε δ[,]ε τιc ατε δ[and π]αῖc ἄτε [cf. Call. fr. 1, 5]).

11 ἐπ]υκάcαντο?

12 f. In 12 πατρ[ί]οc or πατρ[ο]c is likely. In 13 we may divide]μου φθιεν ουδε δω[, which looks like a quotation from poetry again; its metre might be aeolic (xx] – ∪∪ – ∪ – [), although ἔφθιον from φθίω is attested only in Homer.

14 Aigimios was a Doric king near Mt. Oita, whose sons Pamphylos and Dymas assisted the Heraclids when they returned to the Peloponnese. Cf. e.g. Ps.-Apollod. 2, 8, 3; Σ Pi. *P.* 5, 92; Strabo 9, 427 C. In Σ Pi. *P.* 1, 121c we find that these Dorians first lived on Mt. Pindos near Perrhaibia (cf. fr. 9.5 ?), then moved to the area between Mt. Oita and Parnassos (cf. fr. 11.5 ?) and eventually joined the Heraclids. On Aigimios and Herakles cf. N. G. L. Hammond, *Epirus*, Oxford 1967, 381. On Aigimios in Thessaly cf. Hdt. 1, 56; DS 4, 37, 3; Ps.-Apollod. 2, 7, 7: he helped Herakles against the Lapith Koronos.

17 ἀνθ]ρώποιcι: another poetic quotation? or ἀνθ]ρώποιc ιλ[ί?

18 δοc: it is tempting to think of an genitive ending in δοc or of Ἡcίο]|δοc, though obviously this does not exhaust the possibilities. διδου[may be δ' ιδου[or διδου[.

19 θεοφιλέc or θεοφιλέc[τεροc or -τατοc *vel sim.*

21 ff. These lines may contain a quotation from lyric poetry:

καδ δε υθ[
μ]εγαλητοροc[
] α χαλκιοπαι[
]με[ν]αιχμον[

For details see below. The subject of the fragment could be Herakles' adventures at Kos. These are also dealt with in Pi. fr. 33a (from *h.* 1 to Zeus), which is in dactylo-epitrites. Our fragment too could be incorporated in a dactylo-epitritic sequence. Although it may be tempting to make the connection I do not think that the evidence is sufficient to attribute the fragment to Pindar's first hymn, but one should bear in mind the possibility.

21 We may read καδδευδ[: καδ is a poetic form. It occurs in e.g. *Il.* 2, 692, but we have no reason to suppose that our author is speaking about that passage here. There might, just possibly, be a defective overlap with *Il.* 14, 435 f. κὰδ δέ οἱ ὕδωρ | χεῦαν. The form is also attested in Anacr. *PMG* 441 κὰδ δὲ λάποc ἐcχίcθη and we find κάν in Pi. *O.* 8, 78. The line may, therefore, also be part of a quotation from lyric.

22 Probably μ]εγαλήτοροc: another poetic word, attested in epic as well as in lyric poetry (e.g. Pi. *I.* 5, 34); presumably part of the same quotation as the preceding line.

23 Probably Χαλκιόπαι [: the grandmother of Antiphos and Pheidippos was Chalkiope, the daughter of Eurypylos of Kos and wife of Herakles, by whom she bore Thessalos (cf. e.g. Σ Pi. *N.* 2, 42; Σ *Il.* 2, 677 and the references given by Erbse ad loc.; see further Höfer in Roscher III 2, 2291 s.v. Pheidippos). The Doric ending suggests a quotation from lyric poetry.

24 Probably μέ[ν]αιχμον as an adj. or proper name. Cf. μεναίχμηc (Anacr. 74) or μέναιχμοc (Paul. Sil. *AP* 6, 84, 5). If it is a proper name we may e.g. think of Menaichmos of Sikyon (*FGrH* 131; cf. also fr. 8.3). Adjectives in -αιχμοc are mainly poetic; cf. the other compounds with -αιχμοc, none of which, however, can be read here (ἱππαιχμοc [Pi. *N.* 1, 17]; ἀρέταιχμοc [B. 17, 47]; ὁμαιχμοc [cf. Hsch. O 672 (II 756 Latte) ὁμαιχμοι· cύμμαχοι (Th. 3, 58, 4)]).

Fr. 3

2 κ]υπρ [is a possibility. There was a tradition that Pheidippos went to Cyprus via Andros; cf. Σ Lyc. 911; Ps.-Apollod. *Epit.* 6, 15. Cf. also on fr. 4 col. i 12 f. Alternatively we may think of e.g. ο]υ πρ[, which would give a completely different text.

3 θιγγαν[: θιγγάνω is primarily a poetic word, though we do have instances of it in Arist. and X. (cf. LSJ s.v.). It might be part of a quotation.

5 Perhaps something like ε ποτε τελει[or a form of ἐπιτελέω?

6 ff. Though I cannot make much sense of this passage two things are worth observing: (1) the author apparently took some care to make his diction varied (cf. 7 κατά+acc. and 9 ὑπέρ+gen. to describe what his sources were talking about); (2) -cιωc in 9 seems to imply some kind of judgment on the way in which Damastes wrote (see comm. on 9 f.). This fits in with the other indications of a self-conscious author (see on fr. 7.5 ff.; 11.2 f.).

6 f. Xenagoras was a historiographer and geographer of iv/iii BC, who wrote *inter alia* a work Περὶ νήcων (*FGrH* 240 F 26–28). As it seems likely that he was used in a work which dealt with the Coan Antiphos and Pheidippos we may well have a reference to that work here. Perhaps we may supply κατὰ τὴν Κωί[αν (-ων) ἀποικί]|αν, but it may be a little too short.

8 Damastes of Sigeion (ca. 400 BC) wrote *inter alia* a work entitled Περὶ γονέων καὶ προγόνων τῶν εἰc Ἴλιον cτρατευcαμένων βιβλία δύο (*FGrH* 5 T 1), more elaborately described by Suidas s.v. Πῶλοc· ... ἔγραψε Γενεαλογίαν τῶν ἐπὶ Ἴλιον cτρατευcάντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων, καὶ πῶc ἕκαcτοc ἀπήλλαξε (*FGrH* 5 T 3). It seems likely that this is the work referred to here.

9 f. cιωc: we may think of e.g. θαυμαcίωc or παραπλη]cίωc (S. L. Radt; cf. Str. 16, 778 C τὰ μὲν παραπληcίωc τῶι Ἐρατοcθένει λέγει) as it most probably qualifies Damastes' way of describing something. Then perhaps something like ὑπὲρ τῆc τῶ[ν Ἑλλήνων]| cτρατείαc, which fits the space very well.

11 f. τεc: perhaps the end of a participle describing the activities of Xenagoras and Damastes, e.g. λέγον]|τεc, γράφον]|τεc. At the end of 11 κα[ταλίπο springs to mind—though it may be too long—, and its subject οὗτοc may have been Pheidippos—as opposed to Antiphos in 13—leaving for Cyprus. If so, the train of thought could be: 'that he (sc. Pheidippos) left his country and ... Antiphos, as X. says, ...'. But there are some loose ends: why reported speech instead of simple accusative and infinitive? What is κανοι? In Σ Lyc. 911 Antiphos does not leave his country, but is returning from Troy.

13 On Antiphos, the brother of Pheidippos, see comm. on fr. 1 col. i 11. At the end presumably ὃν τρόπ[ον ... φη]-|cιν, with the name of an author in the lacuna.

14 φ': 500 ??
κανοι: in prose κάνοι would be unlikely; if we read κᾶν οἱ we would expect a verb in the subjunctive to follow, which would imply that υcιν in 16 cannot be part of that verb.

Fr. 4 col. i

4 θ]εcπρω[τια *vel sim.* would do; see on 8 below. But of course]εc πρω[is also possible.

6]πειν: infinitive of a verb.

7 Perhaps Θεc]cαλ[ό]c παραλαβὼν τὴν [.

8 It may be tempting to try to read Ἡρο[δ]ότωι (this could refer to Hdt. 7, 176, 4 ἐπεὶ Θεccαλοὶ ἦλθον ἐκ Θεcπρωτῶν οἰκήcοντεc γῆν τὴν Αἰολίδα, τήν περ νῦν ἐκτέαται), but I do not think it fits. At the end perhaps χ[αι]μονιαν[; cf. Str. 9, 443 C (Thessaly is called) Αἱμονία δὲ ἀπὸ Αἵμονοc, Θετταλία δὲ ἀπὸ Θετταλοῦ τοῦ Αἵμονοc.

10 Probably another reference to Pheidippos, as]φε[ι]δ[ί]ππ[is a very likely reading.

12 Probably Ἀν[α]ξιμένην ἐν | το]ῖc Κυπριακοῖc: this title of a work of Anaximenes of Lampsakos (second half of iv BC) is not recorded elsewhere. Cf. the titles in *FGrH* 71 F 1–30; DH *De Isae.* 19; Brzoska in *RE* I 2086 ff. (s.v. Anaximenes 3). There are also some indications that Anaximenes wrote an epic poem on Alexander the Great (*SH* 45 and 913). On the tradition that Pheidippos went to Cyprus see on fr. 3.2.

14 We could read ἀ]δελφὸν αὐτ[ο]ῦ.

18 Probably ἐν Ἰλίωι.

Fr. 5

There is a number in the upper margin (Nϛ=56), rather oddly placed (it almost touches the first line of text) as if it was added later and was not part of the original lay-out. This must mean that this is the 56th

column of the roll. As the column-height was at least 30 lines (cf. fr. 2) this means that at this point we have had at least 1680 lines of text.

1 f. The move to Thessaly by the Thessalians from Thesprotia (Epirus) is supposed to have taken place about the end of the second millennium. It is mentioned in Hdt. 7, 176, 4; Th. 1, 12, 3. In the mythographical tradition it was attributed to Antiphos (Ps.-Apollod. *Epit.* 6, 15); Thessalos (Vell. Pat. 1, 3) or Aiatos, the son of Pheidippos (Polyaen. 8, 44). The idea that it was the offspring of Antiphos and Pheidippos (Strabo 9, 444 C) fits in best with Thucydides' dating of the migration in the 60th year after the Trojan war.

1 ff. We may try to reconstruct this passage as follows:

τῆς μεταβάσεως τῆ[ς εἰς τὴν
Θεσσαλίαν ὃν καὶ αυ_[
μιζει νέον ὄντα πα[
]ςιν εἶναι περὶ ἐκεῖνο[ν τὸν
χ]ρόνον καὶ διὰ ταῦτα[
]ανυπολε_[. . .].[

The contents may be something like: '(X the leader) of the migration to Thessaly, of whom also (Y thinks ?) that, being young, he was at that time in ... and because of that ...'. In 3 μιζει would be part of a verb (e.g. νο]|μίζει).

2 αυ_[: pronoun or beginning of a proper name?

3 f. πα[|]ςιν: indicating a location, e.g. πα[ρ' Ἀρκά]ςιν (S. L. Radt)? The addition νέον ὄντα could suggest that somebody was brought up elsewhere.

6 The letters may be divided in several ways.

Fr. 6

11 νάπει δα[ςκίωι? At the beginning of the line perhaps]τιδας or]πιδας (ης)ιοδος cannot be read).

13 f. Another quotation? Cf. *Od.* 11, 314 φυλόπιδα ... πολέμοιο; *Il.* 13, 635; [Hes.] *Sc.* 114.

Fr. 7

5 ff. These lines may provide a clue as to the nature of the text, but it is a very tenuous one. The text contains some form of ἱστορέω in 5, probably ὕστερον in 6 and ἀπείρως in 7, and perhaps a reference to Ilium in 8. If the text has something to do with Homeric criticism this would fit in a passage in which our author criticizes later authors, who did not interpret Homer in a proper way; this kind of criticism was popular among Aristarchus and his pupils, one of whom was Apollodorus (cf. e.g. Schwartz in *RE* I 2864; R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* I, Oxford 1968, 261). Traces of it are found in Strabo, who may have got it from Apollodorus (cf. B. Niese, 'Apollodors Commentar zum Schiffskataloge als Quelle Strabo's', *RhM* 32, 1877, 267–307, esp. 274 f.); e.g. Strabo 8, 356 C οἱ γὰρ νεώτεροι πολλὰ καινίζουσιν, ὥστε καὶ τἀναντία λέγειν; 13, 612 C; cf. also Strabo 1, 30 C οἱ ὕστερον about later authors about Homer and 9, 438 C οἱ ... ὕστερον, in a passage which according to Pfeiffer on Call. *Ia.* fr. 200a may go back on Apollodorus Περὶ Νεῶν. For ἀπείρως in this context cf. Apollod. *FGrH* 244 F 157 ἃ δ' Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῶι δευτέρωι Περὶ Νεῶν προοιμιαζόμενος εἴρηκεν, ἥκιστα λέγοιτ' ἄν. ἐπαινεῖ γὰρ Ἐρατοσθένους ἀπόφασιν, ὅτι φησὶν ἐκεῖνος καὶ Ὅμηρον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παλαιοὺς τὰ μὲν Ἑλληνικὰ εἰδέναι, τῶν δὲ πόρρω πολλὴν ἔχειν ἀπειρίαν, ἀπείρους μὲν μακρῶν ὁδῶν ὄντας, ἀπείρους δὲ τοῦ ναυτίλλεσθαι; Strabo 13, 612 C οἱ δ' ἀπειρότεροι τῶν παλαιῶν ἱστοριῶν. In any case the text offers a glimpse of a self-conscious author formulating an opinion, and the evidence from Strabo combined with the fact that our papyrus seems to have something to do with the Homeric *Catalogue of Ships* would fit in with what we know of Apollodorus Περὶ Νεῶν, but also with other scholars working in the same tradition. The evidence does not allow firm conclusions.

14 μυρ[: μύριοι, μυρίοι or Μυρμιδόνες vel sim. (cf. *Il.* 2, 684)? Cf. Vell. Pat. 1, 3, 1 *Thessalia..., ante Myrmidonum uocitata ciuitas.*

Fr. 8

2 θεςςαλ[can be read.

3 f. μεναιχ[might be read; cf. also fr. 2.24.

5 δευτερο[_] is likely.

11 f. Probably δυςχει: some form of δυσχείμερος is therefore likely. Cf. e.g. *Il.* 2, 750 οἱ περὶ Δωδώνην δυσχείμερον οἰκί' ἔθεντο (sc. the Perrhaiboi); 16, 234; XXX **2513** 22. According to Strabo the Perrhaiboi lived

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near Mt. Olympos in Thessalian Dodona (cf. 12, where θ]εςςαλ is a likely reading) (Strabo 9, 441 C; cf. Strabo 7, fr. 1–1c about the transfer of the oracle from Thessaly to Epirus. In Homer Dodona is already considered to be in Epirus; see Allen 131). Cf. also fr. 9.4 f. and 6 with comm.

Fr. 9

3 f. Probably ἀθ]ελίμνον[. . .] ἀνίε[ρον]: cf. Hsch. A 1546 Latte ἀθέλιμνοι· κακοί (which according to Latte is corrupt) and Suid. A 713 Adler ἀθέλιμνος· ὁ κακός. The word is not attested elsewhere. It goes well with ἀνίε[ρον, a word with a related meaning and well attested in 5th century tragedy (e.g. A. *Su.* 757; *Ag.* 220; 769; E. *Hipp.* 147; 992; not in S. or the minor tragedians; cf. also *TrGF* 2 F 336b).

4 f. The quotation is attributed to Σοφ]οκλῆς ἐν|[Π]ερραιβίς[ι, and this is probably wrong: a play called *Perrhaibides* was written by Aeschylus (*TrGF* 3 F 184–186a) and ἀνίερος is attested for him, but not for Sophocles (this may of course be due to accident). For a similar false quotation cf. S. F. 581 (from S. *Tereus*, wrongly attributed to Aeschylus). The Perrhaiboi were mentioned in *Il.* 2, 749, and this may account for the quotation. They first lived near Mt. Olympos (cf. fr. 6 ??) and were driven from there by the Lapiths, led by Ixion and his son Peirithoos. Ixion, the notorious villain, *might* be the one described in the quotation! Cf. Strabo 9, 439 C; Lyc. 903 ff. with Σ ad loc.

6 We could read νιφόεντο[ς] Ὀλ[ύμ]που; cf. Hes. *Th.* 117 κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου.

7 θαν: part of a verb? Doric acc. fem.?

ανδρων: either ἀνδρῶν or Ἄνδρων. Andron of Halicarnassus (probably iv BC) wrote a work called Συγγένειαι (or Συγγενικά) or Ἱστορίαι (cf. *FGrH* 10 T 1–4). He wrote *inter alia* about Tektaphos, the son of Doros, colonizing Crete from Thessalia; cf. F 16b and Jacoby ad loc., who relates the passage to Apollodorus Περὶ Νεῶν and quotes DS 5, 80, 1 (Tektamos [sic] collected colonists ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν Ὄλυμπον τόπων).

Fr. 10

2 ff. κλεους, which may be read in 2, and χαλκ[in 4 may provide a clue as to the contents: the first suggests something about Herakles and the second would fit such a context. This does of course not exhaust the possibilities, but it has the advantage of offering an explanation of the fragment which fits the presumed contents of the papyrus. Two explanations are in fact possible: (1) Ps.-Apollod. 2, 7, 1 tells us how Herakles, sailing from Troy, came to Kos and took it by night, killing its king Eurypylos; he was wounded in the battle by a certain *Chalk*odon; (2) Σ *Il.* 14, 255 at the same occasion Herakles also married the daughter of Eurypylos, *Chalk*iope, and they had a son, Thessalos. The second explanation seems more relevant for the contents of the papyrus (cf. fr. 2.23).

6 ηβ[: perhaps a reference to Hebe, Herakles' wife on Olympos, but other divisions of the letters are equally possible.

8 Aiat(i)os was a son of Pheidippos and father of another Thessalos. The story of how he came to Thessaly is told by Polyaen. 8, 44; see on fr. 1 col. ii 5 ff.

10 f. Ἑκα]ταῖος ὁ Μιλή[σιος. Which work of Hecataeus is referred to is not clear. We may think of his Ἱστορίαι, which dealt with the Deucalionids (*FGrH* 1 F 13–16) and with other matters concerning Thessaly and Perrhaibia (F 2, 3 and 5). Another possibility would be the Περιήγησις Εὐρώπης, in which towns in Thessaly and Perrhaibia were discussed (F 133–137). Clearly he dealt with matters treated by our author (cf. also 12 θε[, which *may* refer to Thessalos/Thessaly). It may also be relevant to remember that Hecataeus was one of the sources of Apollodorus; cf. *FGrH* 1 F 20 Ἀναξίμανδρος καὶ Διονύσιος καὶ Ἑκαταῖος, οὓς καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν Νεῶν καταλόγωι παρατίθεται; ibid. F 25, 119, 121.

13 μέμν[ηται vel sim. cannot be excluded.

13 f. Φει[]|[δι]ππος καὶ Ἄ[ντιφος seems likely.

Fr. 11

2 f. εἰρη[κ]α μὲν or εἰρή[κ]αμεν suggests an author who, in the first person singular or plural, refers to something he has said (cf. e.g. Str. 9, 427C καθάπερ εἰρήκαμεν; 10, 945C *et passim*). We may combine this with βίβλου in 4: something he has said in another part of this book or in another book? This kind of reference suggests that our text is not just an anonymous compilation of material, but part of a work that was written by a distinct and self-conscious author. See also on fr. 3.6 ff. and 7.5 ff.

4 f. If related to *Il.* 2 perhaps about Trachis, which was founded by Herakles (Σ Lyc. 905) and the

people of which went to Troy with Achilles (*Il.* 2, 682). Later the Spartans (cf. 4]λακεδαι) founded Herakleia (cf. 5 ηρα ??) on this spot. Cf. Th. 3, 92, 1; Strabo 9, 428C.

Fr. 12

4 Perhaps Κυναιθῶν (S. L. Radt), a town in Arcadia normally called ἡ Κύναιθα, but *Cynaethae* in Plin. *NH* 4, 20. For fluctuation between the singular and plural of a placename cf. also Pola/Polae (Call. fr. 11, 6 with Pfeiffer ad loc.); many examples in Strabo.

6 χαλκ [: see comm. on fr. 10.2 ff.

9]ιοcθε[: *perhaps* about Aiatios and Thessaly/Thessalos; see on fr. 1 col. ii 5 ff. and fr. 10.8.

M. A. HARDER

III. DEMOSTHENES

4310–4333 represent all the unpublished papyri of Demosthenes I–IX so far identified in the Oxyrhynchus collection. This more than doubles the number of available papyri. A consolidated list follows; the earliest items were published or republished in the dissertation of B. Hausmann, *Demosthenis Fragmenta in Papyris et Membranis servata* (Leipzig, 1921; publ. Florence, 1978–1981).

I (*Olynthiac I*)

9, 16, 23–6	XV **1810**	roll	ii	Oxy
13–19	**4310**	papyrus codex	ii/iii	Oxy
18–22	**4311**	roll	ii/iii	Oxy
22–8	XLIX **3435**	roll	ii	Oxy

II (*Olynthiac II*)

1, 10, 13, 17–19, 21–2, 24–7, 30	XV **1810**			
2	**4312**	roll	later ii	Oxy
4–5, 30–1	**4313**	roll	ii	Oxy
4, 20–1	**4314**	roll	i/ii	Oxy
9–11, 13–5	PBerol. 8519 = Hausmann I	roll	iii	?
10, 15	*CR* 6 (1892) 430 [Hausmann II]	roll	i/ii	Thebaid?
26–9	**4315**	roll	iii/iv	Oxy

III (*Olynthiac III*)

1, 3, 9–14, 35–6	XV **1810**			
10–12	**4316**	roll	ii/iii	Oxy
26–33	PBerol. 21280 = Maehler, *Scritti ... Montevecchi* (1981) 199	papyrus codex	late ii/early iii	Hermopolis
28	**4314**			Oxy
33–6	PSI XI 1205 + Manfredi, *Trenta Testi* 11	roll	late i	Oxy
36	**4317**	roll	i/ii	Oxy

IV (*Philippic I*)

2, 4, 7–8, 14–15, 18, 21, 23, 32–41, 43, 45–51	XV **1810**			
4–7	PSorb I 6	roll	ii/iii	?
4–9, 47	**4314**			
12–4	**4318**	roll	ii/iii	Oxy
25–9	**4319**	roll	ii	Oxy
26–9	PGen inv. 258 = Nicole, *Textes grecs inédits* (1909)3 [Hausmann III]	parchment codex	iv–v	?
46–7	**4320**	roll	iii	Oxy

47, 50 51	PWashUniv II 66	papyrus codex	ii/iii?	Oxy
47 51	**4321**	roll	ii	Oxy

V (*de pace*)

2–5, 7–9	PSI II 129 [Hausmann IV]	parchment codex	iv	Oxy
13–14	**4322**	roll	ii	Oxy
16–21	XV **1810**			
21, 23	III **460** [Hausmann V]	roll	ii/iii	Oxy

VI (*Philippic II*)

1, 5	PAmh II 24 [Hausmann VI]	parchment codex	iv	?
1–2, 6–7	**4323**	papyrus codex	iii	Oxy
3–9, 10–15	PRainCent 21 + PKöln IV 183	papyrus codex	iii–iv	?
25–6	**4324**	roll	i/ii	Oxy
31–5	PHamb. inv. 735 = *ZPE* 8 (1971) 133	roll	ii	?

VII (*de Halonneso*)

21–2, 25–6	PLaur IV 135	papyrus codex	ii/iii	?
25	PBerol. 13235 = Hausmann VII	roll	ii	?
26	**4325**	roll	iii	Oxy
29–31	PBerol. 8520 = Hausmann VIII	roll	ii/iii	?

VIII (*de Chersoneso*)

6	PCt.YBR inv. 1348 = *ZPE* 100 (1994) 45	roll	ii	Abutig??
14–21	**4326**	papyrus codex	iii	Oxy
18–20	**4327**	roll	iii	Oxy
33–6	**4328**	roll	ii	Oxy
53, 57	**4329**	roll	late ii	Oxy
54–7, 59–61	**4330**	roll	ii	Oxy
60–7	PBerol. 16895 + 21284 = *ZPE* 48 (1982) 61	roll	late i BC	Abusir el Melek
68–9	**4331**	roll	i/ii	Oxy
75–6	**4332**	roll	ii/iii	Oxy

IX (*Philippic III*)

29–34, 61–8	PMich. inv. 918 = *CP* 20 (1925) 97	parchment codex	iv	Panopolis?
31–4	**4333**	roll	iii	Oxy
38–40, 43	PFay 8 [Hausmann IX]	roll	ii	Bacchias

As the basis of collation we have taken the edition of C. Fuhr (Teubner, 1914), which gives the most reliable account of the primary MSS, SFAY. Of these, A begins substantially at IV 28, with fragments only of the earlier speeches (I 8–15, II 16–24, III 24–IV 3); Y begins at VII 19 (the earlier parts have been supplied by a hand of the fourteenth/fifteenth century). A fifth MS of the tenth/eleventh century, U, was

adduced by Fuhr to replace the missing A; others have thought it closer to Y (MacDowell, *Demosthenes Against Meidias* 58 f.). The later MSS have not been systematically collated, but some reports can be found in the editions of Dindorf (1846), Vömel (1857) and Butcher (OCT, 1903); for VIII and IX see further D. Irmer, *Zur Genealogie der jüngeren Demostheneshandschriften* (Hamburg, 1972).

For general accounts of the medieval tradition, see Erbse in H. Hunger and others, *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung* I (Zürich, 1961) 263 f.; H. Wankel, *Demosthenes: Rede für Ktesiphon* (Heidelberg, 1976) I 66 ff.; D. M. MacDowell, *Demosthenes Against Meidias* (Oxford, 1990) pp. 38 ff. For a general bibliography of textual work 1915–1965 see *Lustrum* 14 (1969) 16 ff. On the papyri, and their relation to the MSS, see Hausmann; G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione²* (Florence, 1952) 269–94; A. E. Samuel, *BASP* 2 (1964–5) 34–6.

4310. DEMOSTHENES I 13–19

14 1B.204/C(a)   Frr. 1–5 10 × 11 cm   Second/third century

Twelve fragments from one page of a two-column codex. Many are contiguous, and column-height can be calculated at 28 lines per column. Line-length varies from 14 to 20 letters (or perhaps 23; see ↓i 4), and up to 2 cm of the top margin and 3 cm of the bottom margin survive, with an intercolumnium of up to 1.5 cm. Assuming that the outer margins were at least as wide as the intercolumnium, the codex when complete will have been at least 16 × 20 cm, putting it best perhaps among the aberrant examples in Group 6 of Turner's typology (*The Typology of the Early Codex* 18, 24), although there can be no certainty.

The hand is an upright angular form of the Severe Style, medium-sized, bilinear (ρ and υ descend slightly below the line), with well-spaced letters, many with small serifs. Ligatures are avoided. Somewhat comparable is PBodm XIV (Seider, *Pal. gr. Pap.* II 49, Taf. XXV), although ε and c are smaller here.

Iota adscript is not written and elisions are generally but not always made. A number of corrections have been made both by the scribe (→i 18, ↓i 22, ii 7) and by what appears to be a second hand (→ii 6, 25). There are no marks of punctuation apart from paragraphus (↓ii 11, 13), that too perhaps by the second hand.

The papyrus offers several unattested variants. One is a possible reversal of word-order (↓i 4), one a phonetic misspelling of no consequence (↓ii 3–4). Of more interest is the omission of the phrase τιc ἂν εἴποι (→i 7), which Cobet suggested should be deleted, and confirmation of the MSS reading μεγάλοιc τόκοιc (→ii 15), where τόκοιc has been suspected. At →ii 6 an original cκοπεῖcθε (S) has been changed to cκοπεῖτε (cett.). There are also several agreements of an eclectic nature with variants in the medieval tradition.

Part of § 16 (↓i 9–11) is represented also in **1810**; parts of §§ 18–19 (↓ii 6–19) in **4311** i 4–15.

→   col. i
        πανθ ον εβο]υλετο ευ
        τρεπιϲαϲ τρο]πον ωχετο
        ειϲ θρακην] ειτ [ε]κ[ει
        τουϲ μεν εκβ]αλων [τουϲ
5   δε καταϲτ]ηϲαϲ [των

c. 8 lines lost

        παραλειπω ϲ]τ[ρατει
        αϲ τι ο]υν ταυτ[α λε   §14
        γειϲ ημι]ν νυν ιν[α
        γνω]τε ω ανδρεϲ αθη
10   να]ιοι και αιϲθηϲ[θ]ε
        αμφ]οτερα και τ[ο π]ρο
        ιεϲθα]ι καθ ε[κα]ϲ[το]ν α
        ει τι τ]ων π[ραγματω]ν
        ωϲ αλυϲιτελεϲ κα]ι την
15   φιλοπραγμοϲυ]νην
        η χρηται και ϲυ]ζη
        φιλιπποϲ υφ] ηϲ ου
        κ εϲτιν οπωϲ αγ]α⟦μ⟧ πη
        ϲαϲ τοιϲ πεπρα]γμε
20   νοιϲ ηϲυχιαν ϲχ]ηϲε[ι]ε

→   col. ii
        ει [δ] ο μ[εν ωϲ αει τι μειζον
        των υπ[αρχοντων δει πρατ
        τε[ιν εγνωκωϲ εϲται η]μ[ειϲ
        δ [ωϲ ουδενοϲ αντ]ιλ[ηπτε
5   ον ερρωμενωϲ τω]ν [πραγ
        ματων] ϲκ[οπει]⟦ϲθ⟧ʼτʼ [ειϲ τι
        ποτ ελ]πιϲ τ[αυ]τα [τελευ
        τηϲα]ι πρ[οϲ θ]ε[ων τιϲ ου   §15
        τωϲ εϲ]τιν ευη[θηϲ υμων

10   οϲτιϲ] αγνοε[ι τον εκει
        θεν πολ]εμο[ν δευρ ηξοντα

3 lines lost

        θην[αιοι μη το]ν α[υτον
        τροπο[ν ωϲπε]ρ ο[ι] δα[νει
        ζομεν[οι ραδ]ιωϲ επι τ[οιϲ
15   μεγαλ[οιϲ το]κοιϲ μ[ι
        κρον [ευπορ]ηϲαντ[εϲ
        χρονο[ν υϲτε]ρον κ[αι
        των αρ[χαιων α[πεϲτη
        ϲαν ου[τ]ω [κα]ι η[μειϲ αν ε
20   πι πολλω [φαν]ω[μεν
        ερραθυμηκοτε[ϲ και α
        παντα προ[ϲ η]δο[νην
        ζητουντεϲ [πο]λλ[α και
        χαλεπα ων ου[κ εβουλο
25   μεθα προτερον [ειϲ αναγ
        (m. 2) υϲτερον

↓   col. i
        κην ελθωμεν ποι[ε[ι]ν και
        κινδυνευϲωμεν] περι [τ]ων
        εν αυτη τη χωρα το με]ν ουν   §16
        επιτι]μ[αν ιϲωϲ φηϲαι τι]ϲ αν
5   ].[
             ].[
        τι δει πρατ]τε[ιν αποφαι
        [νεϲθαι τουτ ειναι ϲυμ]
        βουλου εγω] δ ο[υκ αγνοω
10   μεν ω αν]δρεϲ [αθηναιοι
        τουθ οτι] πολ[λακιϲ υμειϲ

4 lines lost

τα] γνωμ[ην εκ]βη ου
μ]ην ο[ι]μ[αι δειν τ]ην ιδ[ι
αν] αcφα[λειαν cκ]οπουν
15 θ υ|π[οc]τ[ειλαcθαι] π[ε]ρι
ων] υμι[ν cυμφερ]ειν
ηγου]μαι φη[μι δη] διχη   §17
βοηθητ]εον ε[ιναι τ]οιc πραγ
μαcιν] υμιν τω τ[ε] ταc
20 πολει]c τοιc [ο]λυνθιοιc [c]ω
ζειν] και τ[ο]υc τουτο π[οι
ηcον]ταc cτρατιωταc ʽεκʼπε[μ
πειν] και τω την εκει
νου χ]ωραν κακωc π[οι

↓   col. ii

ει]ν και τ[ριηρεcι και
cτ]ρατιωτ[αιc ετεροιc
ει δε θα]τερου [τουτων ο   §18
λιγωρ]η[c]ετα[ι οκνω
5 μη ματα]ιοc ημ[ιν η

c. 9 lines lost

ακιν]δυνωc [ορων ε
χ[ο]ντα ʽταʼ [οι]κοι [προcκαθε
δ[ειται κ]αι π[ροcεδρευ
cε[ι] τοιc πραγμα[cι πε
10 ρι[εcτ]αι τω χρονω [των
π[ολιορ]κουμενω[ν δει
δ[η πολλη]ν και [διχη
τ[ην βοηθειαν ειναι και   §19
πε[ρι μεν τηc βοηθει
15 αc [ταυτα γιγνωcκω
περ[ι δε χρηματων πο

ρ[ου εcτιν ω ανδρεc
αθη[ναιοι χρηματα
υμι[ν εcτιν οc ουδενι

→

Col. i

7 τι ο]υν **4310**: τί οὖν τις ἂν εἴποι SFU (ἄν τις εἴποι A). Cobet deleted the extra phrase (which appears already in the sentence before). The scholia show that some difficulty was felt about the sentence-structure: τινὲc δὲ εἰc τὸ ʼτί οὖν ἄν τις εἴποιʼ cτίζοντες ἐπιφέρουcι ʼταῦτα λέγειc ἡμῖνʼ (Schol. Dem. I p. 35, 105a Dilts).

12–13 δεῖ **4310** AU: αἰεί SF.

18 μ overwritten as π by the first hand.

19 cχ]ηcε[ι]ε **4310**: cχήcει SFAU. The apparent final ε in the papyrus stands out a little in the margin, and might be by a second hand. Is it simply a dittography of the ε which begins the next word at the top of col. ii?

Col. ii

2 Spacing favours δεῖ SFU over ὅτι δεῖ A.

6 cθ cancelled by diagonal crossing and τ added by a second hand. cκοπεῖcθ' S (τε mg. rec.): cκοπεῖτε vulgo.

8–9 ἐcτὶν εὐήθηc **4310** AU: εὐήθηc ἐcτὶν SF.

15 μεγάλοιc τόκοιc **4310** SFU: τόκοιc om. Priscian. XVIII 295 (II p. 367 Hertz), del. L. Spengel.

19–20 ἡμεῖc ἂν ἐπὶ πολλῷ SFU: ἂν om. Pal. 104, del. Dobree. In the papyrus, spacing does not exclude ἂν.

25 προτερον **4310**, υcτερον added by a second hand: ὕcτερον SFU.

↓

Col. i

4 φήcαι τιc ἂν SFU, but line-length suggests a possible reversal of word-order in **4310**, perhaps τι]c αν | [φηcαι.

5, 6 Traces only.

Col. ii

3–4 ολιγωρ]η[c]ετα[ι **4310**: ὀλιγωρήcετε SFU.

5 ημιν **4310** SFU: ὑμῖν Dindorf.

9–10 περιέcται **4310 4311** SF: καὶ περιέcται U.

14 μὲν SFU and perhaps **4310** (to judge from the spacing): μὲν δὴ **4311**.

13–15 Readings and reconstruction doubtful.

17–18 ἔcτιν … χρήμαθ' ὑμῖν **4310 4311** SFU: ἔcτιν ὑμῖν … χρήματα Hermog. 425.4 Rabe.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

4311. DEMOSTHENES I 18–22

A 13/4D   Fr. 2 7.7 × 8.7 cm   Second/third century

Nine fragments from two columns. All are contiguous except for one from near the foot of col. ii. Intercolumnia measure up to 1.4 cm. No other margins survive. The back is blank. Line-length varies from 18 to 23 letters. Assuming that there were no lacunas, column-length will have been c. 38 lines and in this format *Olynth.* I will have occupied only some twelve columns of writing. As XV **1810** and now **4314** suggest (cf.

4327), a single roll might sometimes contain a number of shorter related speeches (cf. M. W. Haslam, *LCM* 1 (1976) 9–10). Here too therefore we may have an example of a roll containing all or most of the 'Philippic' speeches.

The hand is an upright form of the Severe Style, with well-spaced medium-sized letters, bilinear except for the extension of ρ, τ, υ and ϕ. Ligatures are completely absent. A comparable hand is Turner, *GMAW* no. 34, although the present example may be later than the second century.

Iota adscript is written superfluously at i 12 and so may have occurred regularly elsewhere. Vowels at word-end are sometimes elided, sometimes written out. Elision is unmarked. Line-fillers ($\sim$, $\curlyvee$) are common; superscript dash for final nu at i 4. The only punctuation is the high stop used by the original scribe and paragraphi added by a second hand.

The papyrus presents a number of peculiar variants, none of them of any importance (i 11 μὲν δὴ for μὲν, ii 8–9 ἀντιλαμβάνεσθε for ἀντιλάβεσθε; reversals of word-order at ii 18, 22–3). It shares variants with U at ii 5–6 and 17.

Parts of §§ 18–19 (i 4–15) are represented also in **4310** ↓ ii 6–19.

Col. i (frr. 1 & 2)

. ϒ . . .
ραιδιωσ επι τη]ν οικ[ειαν ε]λ
θων αμυνειτα]ι ειτε βοηθη
cαντων μ]ον[ο]ν υμων εισ
ολυνθον] ακινδυνωσ ορῶ
5 εχοντα τα ο]ικοι προσκαθε~
δειται και] προσεδρευσει~
τοισ πραγμασι] πε[ρι]εσται
τωι χρονωι των πολιο]ρκο[υ
μενων δ]ει δη πολλην και
10 διχηι τη]ν βοηθειαν ει[να]ι~
κ]αι περι μεν δη τησ βοηθ[ει   §19
ασ ταυτα γιγνωσκωι· περ[ι
δε χρηματων πορου εστι[ν
ω αν[δρεσ α]θηναιοι χρημ[α
15 τα υ[μιν εστιν] οσ ουδεν[ι
τω[ν αλλων ανθρωπων στρα
. . . .

Col. ii (frr. 1, 3, 4, 6–8, 9)

. . . .
πολλα αν ολιγω]ν [ο]λιγα
δει δε χρηματ]ων και ανευ
τουτων ουδε]ν εστιν γεν[εσ
θα[ι] τω[ν δεο]ντων· λεγουσιν
5 δε και αλλ[οι] τινεσ αλλουσ πο
ρουσ ων ελε[c]θε οστ[ι]σ υμ[ει]ν
cυμφερειν δ[οκει] και εωσ [εσ
τι καιροσ [εσ]τι[ν αν]τιλαμ[βα
νεσθε των πρα[γ]ματω[ν α   §21
10 ξι]ον δ ενθυμ[ηθη]να[ι κα]ι
λογ[ι]cαcθαι τ[α πρα]γματα ~
εν [ωι] καθ[εcτηκε ν]υνει τα
φι[λιπ]που ου[τ]ε γ[αρ ωс δοκει
και φησειε τισ α[ν] μ[η cκο
15 πων ακρειβωσ ε[υτρεπωσ
ουδ ωσ αν καλλιστ [αυτωι τα
παροντ εχοι ουτ αν ε[ξηνεγ
κε ποτε τον πολεμον το[υτον
εκεινοσ ει] πολεμ[ειν ωιηθη

c. 10 lines missing

20 θ[ρωποισ κομιδηι δ ωσπερ   (§22)
ην [και εστι νυν τουτωι
κα[ι γαρ παγασασ αυτον α
παι[τειν εισιν εψηφισμε
25 νοι [και μαγνησιαν κεκω
.[
. . . .

Col. i
7 περιέσται **4311 4310** SF: καὶ περιέσται U.
9 δή **4311** SU: δὲ F.
11 μὲν δή **4311**: μὲν **4310** (to judge from the spacing) SFU.
13–15 ἔστιν ... χρήμαθ' ὑμῖν **4311 4310** SFU: ἔστιν ὑμῖν ... χρήματα Hermog. 425.4 Rabe.

15 To the left, traces from a line-end in the preceding column.
οὐδενί **4311** SFU: οὐδέϲι Dindorf.

Col. ii
5–6 και αλλ[οι] τινεϲ αλλουϲ πορουϲ **4311**: καὶ ἄλλουϲ τινὰϲ πόρουϲ SF: τινεϲ ἄλλουϲ πόρουϲ U.
6–7 υμ[ει]ν ... δ[οκει]: the spacing in 6 suggests this restoration (the reading of SFU), rather than υμ]ιν
α]ν ... δ[οκηι] (the reading cited by Butcher as 'vulg.'). For the itacistic spelling cf 12 ν]γνει, 15 ακρειβωϲ.
7–8 [εϲ]τι καιροϲ [εϲ]τι[ν **4311**: ἐϲτὶ καιρόϲ SFU.
To the right, traces from the next column, most suggesting the fork of a forked paragraphus.
8–9 αν]τιλαμ[βα]νεϲθε **4311**: ἀντιλάβεϲθε SFU.
12 To the right, a trace from the next column.
17 ἔχοι **4311** U: ἔχηι SF: ἔχει Aug. 3[1].
18 ποτε τον πολεμον **4311** U: τὸν πόλεμόν ποτε SFU.
22–3 αυτον α]παι[τειν **4311**: ἀπαιτεῖν αὐτόν SFU.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

4312. DEMOSTHENES II 2

112/74(a)   5.5 × 11 cm   Later second century

The beginnings of thirteen lines from the top of a column, with 4.5 cm of the top
margin extant and an intercolumnium of 1.5 cm. Line length varies from 12 to 18
letters. The back is blank.

The hand is a medium-sized Severe Style, inclining slightly to the right, comparable
to XV **1808** (pl. IV), although the letters are less rounded here, or the slightly more
upright XXXIX **2889** (pl. V). The small size of ε, o and ϲ contrasts noticeably with the
breadth of μ, ν, π and τ: ρ and υ descend well below the line and there is occasional
ligaturing of τ to the following letter.

There are no readings of interest.

```
    ϲκοπειν αυτ[ουϲ οπωϲ        (§2)
    μη χειρουϲ π[ερι ημαϲ
    αυτουϲ ειναι [δοξομεν
    των υπαρχον[των
5   ωϲ εϲτιν των [αιϲχρων
    μαλλον δε τω[ν αιϲχιϲ
    των μη [μονον πο
    λεων [και τοπων ων
    ημεν [ποτε κυριοι φαι
10  νεϲ[θ]α[ι προιεμενουϲ
    αλλα κ[αι των υπο
```

τηϲ τυ[χηϲ παραϲκευ
αϲ[θεντων ϲυμμαχων

1 αυτ[ουϲ: del. Rehdantz, ἡμᾶϲ Dobree.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

4313. DEMOSTHENES II 4–5, 30–1

34 4B.78/E(7–9)a   Fr. 1 5.5 × 7.5 cm   First/second century

Two fragments, written across the fibres. Fr. 1 has 1.8 cm of the top margin extant,
fr. 2 a similar amount of the bottom margin. Line-length varies from 26 to 34 letters,
in keeping with the hypomnema-like quality of the hand, to give a relatively wide
column (7–7.5 cm).[1] The backs are blank, except for a couple of letters or possibly
symbols standing alone; they may perhaps have come from the far right-hand side of
an account of some type.

The hand is an informal rounded upright of small to medium size, bilinear except
for φ extending well above and below the line; ligatures are generally avoided. L **3533**
(pl. IV; Turner, *GMAW*[2] no. 86), assigned to the second century, is somewhat compar-
able, although the letters here are smaller and more carefully made; but at least one
feature, ε with detached cross-bar, may suggest an earlier date (compare Roberts, *GLH*
nos 10a–c). Elisions are sometimes made and sometimes marked with an apostrophe
(by the original hand); there are no other marks of punctuation. Movable nu is written
at one place; it is not possible to say whether iota adscript was written or not. The
scribe has omitted letters in several places, adding them above the line in a more
cursive form.

Like the MSS, **4313** reads ὑμῖν after τῶν δεόντων in § 31 (fr. 2.5), not the ἡμῖν
printed by Butcher.

Some lines of § 30 (fr. 2.4–7) are represented also in **1810** fr. 19.

fr. 1
```
   νοιϲ ορθωϲ δ]οκιμαζε[ι]ν ταυτ ειπε[ι]ν πει
   ραϲομαι το] μεν ουν επιορκον και απιϲτον        §5
   καλειν ανευ τ]ου τα πεπραγμενα δει[κ]νυ
   ναι λοιδοριαν] ειναι τιϲ αν φηϲειεν κε
5  νην δικαιωϲ το] δε πανθ' οϲα πωποτ'
   επραξε διεξιον]τ' εφ απα[ϲι]ν [του]το'ιϲ' ε[λεγ
```

[1] On column-widths in prose texts see W. A. Johnson, *Proc. 20th Int. Congr. Pap.* 423–7.

χειν και βραχεος] λ[ογ]ου ϲυμβ[αινει δεις
θαι και δυοιν εν]εχ᾽ [ηγ]ουμ[αι ϲυμφερειν
ειρηϲθαι του τ ε]κε[ιν]ον [οπερ και α
10   ληθεϲ υπαρχει φ]αυ[λο]ν [φαινεϲθαι
και τουϲ υπερεκπ]επ[ληγμενουϲ ω
ϲ αμαχον τινα τον] φιλ[ιππον ιδειν οτι

·   ·   ·

fr. 2

·   ·

] . [

θαι τριηραρχειν] ει[ϲφερειν ϲτρατευεϲ
θαι τοιϲ δε ψηφι]ζε[ϲθαι κατα τουτων μονον
αλλο δε μηδ οτιουν] ϲυ[μπονειν ουχι γενηϲε
ται των δεοντω]ν υ[μιν ουδεν εν και
5   ρωι το γαρ ηδικ]ημενον [αει μεροϲ ελλει
ψει ειθ υμιν το]υτο ʹυʼ ϲ κολαζ[ειν αντι των εχ
θρων εξεϲται λ]εγω ʹδηʼ κεφαλ[αιον παντας εις   §31
φερειν αφ οϲων] εκαϲτοϲ εχ[ει το ιϲον παντας

Fr. 1
    8 ἡγοῦμαι ϲυμφέρειν 4313 S: ϲυμφέρειν ἡγοῦμαι F.
    11 To judge from the spacing, the papyrus had τοὺϲ (S), not τοῦ τοὺϲ (F).

Fr. 2
    5 ὑμῖν 4313 SF: ἡμῖν Butcher. In 1810 the word is lost.
    8 δή 4313 (added by the original hand) SF: δη changed to δὲ U.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

4314. DEMOSTHENES II 4, 20–1, III 28, IV 4–9, 47

112/5   Fr. 5 9.0 × 11.5 cm   First/second century

Several fragments from *Olynth.* II and III, and *In Phil.* I, apparently from the same
roll. The papyrus may therefore have contained all the 'Philippic' speeches as a group,
like XV **1810** which is contemporary with it. The largest fragment (fr. 5), itself made
up of several smaller fragments, has most of two consecutive columns with *In Phil.* I
7–9; line-length is 19–24 letters, giving a column of 29–31 lines. The intercolumnium
is 1.5 cm, and fr. 3 has 4 cm of the bottom margin extant. No upper margins survive.
The back is blank.

The hand is a small to medium-sized upright rounded capital, similar to E. G.
Turner, *GMAW* no. 72 (X **1233**), assigned to AD ii, or XXXIX **2878**, assigned by Lobel
to the late first or early second century. Roughly bilinear except for ρ and φ; ε, ο and
ϲ are noticeably smaller than the other letters and there is a tendency to enlarge the
initial letters of lines. Many letters are given small serifs and ligatures are avoided.
Elision is sometimes made and iota adscript generally written. There are no marks of
punctuation.

The papyrus offers two unique readings, both reversals of word-order (fr. 4.9;
6.3–4, where **4320** offers the transmitted text). As between MSS, its allegiances shift,
but where the transmission is divided it never sides against S; at fr. 2.6 it allies with
SAY, while **1810** allies with F.

Part of II § 21 (fr. 2.6 f.) is represented also in **1810** frr. 9–11 i 1–3; part of III § 28
(fr. 3) in PBerol. inv. 21280 ↓ ii 33–7 (see above p. 00); part of IV § 47 (fr. 6) in **4320**
18–23.

Fr. 1

·   ·

γεγενη]μενον [ουχι παρ αυ   (II §4)
του ων ο]υν εκε[ινοϲ μεν οφει
λει τοιϲ] υπερ αυ[του πεπο
λιτευμε]νοιϲ χα[ριν υμιν

Fr. 2

·   ·

] . . [(II §20)
]stripped?[
αθηναι]οι δειξει[ν ουκ εις
μακραν] αν οι τε θε[οι θε
5   λωϲι κα]ι υμειϲ βουλη[ϲθε ωϲ
περ γα]ρ εν το[ιϲ ϲωμαϲι   §21
τεωϲ μ]εν [αν ερρωμενοϲ

Fr. 3

·   ·

αϲ πλει]ω δ η χιλια κ[αι πεντα   (III §28)
κοϲια τ]αλαντα αν[ηλωκα
μεν εις ο]υδεν δεο[ν ουϲ δ εν
τωι πολ]εμωι ϲυμ[μαχουϲ

Fr. 4

```
              .    .    .
   και μεθωνη]ν και πα[ντα τον          (IV §4)
   τοπον του]τον οικε[ιον κυκλωι
   και πολλα] των μετ εκεινου
   νυν οντων εθνω]ν αυτονο
5  μουμενα] κα[ι] ελευθερα υπηρ
   χε και μ]αλλον υμιν εβου
   λετ εχειν] οικειως η εκεινωι
   ει τοινυν] ο φιλιππος τοτε
   εσχε ταυτ]ην γνω[μην ω]ς       §5
10 χαλεπον] πολεμει[ν εστιν α
   θηναιοις] εχουσι τοσαυ[τ επι
```

Fr. 5

col. i

```
              .  .    .
   χρησιμον τηι πολει πασα]ν          (IV §7)
   αφεις την ειρωνειαν ετ]οι
   μος πρατ]τ[ε]ιν υπ[αρ]ξηι ο μεν
   χρημ]ατ εχων ε[ισφ]ερειν ο
5  δ εν] ηλικιαι στρ[ατ]ε[υε]σθαι
   συ]νελοντ[ι δ απλως] αν
   υμ]ων αυτ[ων εθελησητ]ε
   γεν]εσθαι κα[ι παυσησθε αυ
   τος] μεν ουδεν [εκαστος ποιη
10 σει]ν ελπιζω[ν τον δε πλη
   σιο]ν πανθ υ[περ αυτου] πρ[α
   ξει]ν και τα υ[μετερ αυ]των
   κομι]εισθε αν [θεος θελ]η και
   τα κα]τερραθυ[μημεν]α πα
15 λιν αναληψεσθε κακ]εινον
   τιμωρησεσθε μη γαρ ω]ς θε      §8
   ωι νομιζετ εκεινωι τ]α πα
```

```
   ροντα πεπηγεναι πραγ]μα
   τ αθανατα αλλα και μις]ει
              .    .    .
```

col. ii

```
              .         .
       ]...[
   ]παντα [ταυτα νυν ουκ εχον
   τ] αποστρ[οφην δια την υμετε
   ραν βραδ[υτητα και ραθυμι
5  αν ην απ[οθεσθαι φημι δειν
   ηδη ορατ[ε γαρ ω ανδρες αθη     §9
   ναιοι το [πραγμα οι προελη
   λυθεν [ασελγειας ανθρωπος
   ος ουδ [αιρεσιν υμιν διδωσι
10 τ[ου πραττειν η αγειν ησυχι
   αν [αλλ απειλει και λογους υ
   π[ερηφανους ως φασι λεγει
              .    .    .
```

Fr. 6

```
              .    .    .
   πως] ουν τ[αυτα παυσε          (IV §47)
   ται ο]ταν [υμεις ω ανδρες
   αθη]ναιο[ι αποδειξητε
   τους] αυτο[υς στρατιω
              .    .    .
```

Fr. 7 (unplaced)

```
     .    .
     ].[
   ]οαν[
   ]καικ.[
   ]νηλ[
     .    .
```

Fr. 2

   1 Traces only; perhaps $c\theta$ of ἐξεταϲθήϲεται.
   2 The letters appear to be stripped across the whole width of the fragment.
   6 ϲώμαϲι **4314** (to judge from the space) SA: ϲώμαϲιν ἡμῶν **1810** (to judge from the space) F.

Fr. 3

   1 πλείω δ᾽ ἢ χίλια **4314** SFA: πλειω δε χειλια PBerol.

Fr. 4

   6 ὑμῖν **4314** SFU: ἡμῖν vulg.
   9 εϲχε ταυτ]ην γνω[μην **4314** (not ταυτην τ]ην, to judge from the space): ταύτην ἔϲχε τὴν γνώμην SF.
   11 τοϲαῦτα **4314** SF¹: τοιαῦτα F corr. U.

Fr. 5 col. i

   1–2 If παϲα]ν is rightly read and restored in line 1, the spacing suggests that **4314** had τὴν in line 2: so SF, del. Frohberger.
   6 ἁπλῶϲ **4314** (to judge from the space) SF, om. A suppl., del. Cobet: εἰπεῖν post ἁπλῶϲ add. F rec. s.v. U. ἁν apparently (coni. Benseler): ἢν SFU.

Col. ii

   2 πάντα ταῦτα **4314** S: ταῦτα πάντα FU. **4314** perhaps had α]παντα, since there seems to be room at the line-beginning for an extra letter, but not for the τοι of μέντοι.

Fr. 6

   3–4 αποδειξητε τουϲ] αυτο[υϲ **4314**: τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἀποδείξητε **4320** SFA.

<div align="right">J. E. G. WHITEHORNE</div>

4315. Demosthenes II 26–29

Part of one column, in which the lines are almost complete, and the beginnings of a few lines of the next. There is a bottom margin of 4.5 cm and an intercolumnium of 1.5 cm. Line length varies from 20 to 26 letters, giving a column of 30–33 lines. The back is blank.

The hand is a small to medium-sized Severe Style, very angular and sloping markedly towards the right, somewhat comparable to Turner, *GMAW* no. 50 (VII **1015**); bilinear except for ρ, τ, υ, and φ, which extends well above and below the line; letters are well spaced and ligatures are avoided. Elision is occasionally made. It is not possible to say whether iota adscript was written. The middle stop (by the same hand) and paragraphus are the only marks of punctuation.

As well as itacistic spellings, the papyrus offers several peculiar readings, none of any significance: ὑμῶν for ἡμῶν (a common error) and a reversal of word order at the end of § 26 and an unnecessary αὐτοὺς and another reversal of word order at the beginning of § 27.

Parts of §§ 26–7 (col. i) are also extant in **1810**.

col. i

.   .   .   .   .

χον εϲτι] φυϲιν [του] το γε [πολυ γαρ
ραον ε]χοντας φ[υλα]ττει[ν η
κτηϲα]ϲθαι παντα πεφυκ[εν
νυν δ ο τι] μεν φυλαξομε[ν ου
5   δεν εϲθ υπο] του πολ[ε]μου λο[ι]πον
των προ]τε[ρ]ων κτ[η]ϲαϲθαι δε δει·
αυτων] ουν υμων τουτ εργον η
δη φη]μι δη δε[ιν αυτου]ϲ χρ[η]μα   §27
τα ειϲφ]ερειν αυτο[υϲ ε]ξ[ι]εναι [π]ρ[ο
10 θυμ]ωϲ μηδενα αιτιαϲθαι
πριν αν τ]ων πραγματων κρα
τηϲητε τ]ηνικαυ[τ]α δ απ α[υ]των
των εργω]ν κρειναντας τ[ο]υϲ
μεν αξιο]υϲ επαιν[ο]υ τειμα[ν] τουϲ
15 δ αδικουντας] κολαζειν τα[ϲ πρ]ο
φαϲειϲ δ αφε]λειν κα[ι] τα κ[αθ υ
μας ελλειμματα ου] γαρ εϲτ[ι πι

col. ii

.[.   .   .   (§29)

τε [ταυτας αφιετε περιεϲ
τ[ι τοινυν υμιν αλληλοιϲ
[εριζειν και διεϲταναι]
5 [τοιϲ μεν ταυτα πεπει]
ϲμ[ενοιϲ τοιϲ δε ταυτα τα κοι
[να δ εχειν φαυλωϲ προτερον ω]
[ανδρεϲ αθηναιοι ειϲεφερετε]
κ[ατα ϲυμμοριαϲ νυνι δε πολι
10 τευε[ϲθε κατα ϲυμμοριαϲ ρη
τω[ρ ηγεμων εκατερων και

.   .   .   .

Col. i

7 υμων **4315**: ἡμῶν SFU.

τουτ εργον **4315**: ἔργον τοῦτ' SFU.

8–9 αυτου]ς χρ[η]μα[τα εισφ]ερειν **4315**: εἰσφέρειν χρήματα SFU.

13 κρίναντας **4315** SFU: κρι]νοντας **1810**.

Col. ii

1 ff. The reconstruction is uncertain. Line 2 ranges between i 6 and 7, 'line 6' with i 11, 'line 10' between i 14 and 15; 'lines 4–5' have 36 letters, fewer than might be expected for two lines but perhaps too many for one. Further, above line 2 is what appears to be a paragraphus below a small trace of ink. A paragraphus should signal a break in the sense; but the text that the proposed restoration implies for line 1 would not provide one. Perhaps therefore we should write instead:

```
    .[                  οταν δε δον
  ‾τε[ς λογον τας αναγκας ακουςη
   τ[ε ταυτας κτλ
```

8–9 εισεφερετε] κ[ατα ςυμμοριας **4315** (κ damaged but likely) SFU: κατὰ ςυμμορίας εἰςεφέρετε Cobet, coll. XIII 20.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

4316. DEMOSTHENES III 10–12

50 4B.23/P(1–3)a   8.2 × 9.8 cm   Second/third century

This fragment from a roll contains the remains of two columns; of the right-hand column only some initial letters survive. The column originally had about 30 lines; the lines have from 12 to 18 letters. A small part of the upper margin, 1 cm deep, is preserved above the left-hand column. The left-hand margin is lost; the margin between the columns measured 1.5–2 cm. The back is blank.

The text is written in a medium-sized 'Severe Style' book hand, sloping slightly to the right. α has the angular shape, μ is rounded, the descenders of ρ, τ and υ reach below the line. The letters stand rather far apart. Among the Demosthenes papyri, II **232** (*Contra Timocratem*, see pl. IV) and I **26** (*Prooemia*, see Roberts, *GLH* 19a) represent this type of handwriting; compare also I **23** (Plato's *Laws*, see pl. VI) and Seider, *Pal. gr. Pap.* II pl. XVI no. 33, PBerol. 9766 = BKT II pp. 53 f. The only lectional sign is a diaeresis in 9. There are no corrections.

Parts of these sections are transmitted also in XV **1810** (ii AD): fr. 4.8–10 corresponds to **4316** i 1–4, fr. 5 i 12–16 to ii 1–8. At i 6 **4316** transmits καθίςτατε, with all MSS, where editors generally adopt Bekker's καθίςατε.

col. i

```
]τουτο λεγε [μη τοινυν
]ω ανδρες αθη[ναιοι
]θαυμαςητε εαν πα
]ραδοξον ειπω τι τοις
```

col. ii

```
[                    ]
ς[υμφερει ζητειτε
π[ριν δε ταυτα πρα   §12
ξ[αι μη ςκοπειτε τις
```

```
5   ]πολλοις νομοθετας       5   ε[ιπων τα βελτιςτα
    ]καθιςτατε εν δε του          υ[περ υμων υφ υμων
    ]τοις τοις νομοθεταις         α[πολεςθαι βουληςε
    ]μη θηςθε νομον               τ[αι
    ]μηδενα εισι γαρ ϋ                .         .
10  ]μειν ικανοι αλλα τους
    εις τ]ο παρον βλαπτον
    τας υμ]ας λυςατε λε      §11
    γω δε τους] περι των
    θεωρικων] ςαφως ου
15  τωςι και το]υς περι των
    ςτρατευο]με[νων ενι
         c. 14 lines lost
```

Col. i

3 εαν: ἄν editors.

6 καθίςτατε **4316** SFU: καθίςατε Bekker.

6 f. τούτοις om. U.

9–10 ὑμῖν ἱκανοί **4316** FU: ἱκανοὶ ὑμῖν S.

12–13 λέγω δὲ τοὺς **4316** F and (δὲ corr. from δη) U: δὲ om. S. The spacing shows that the papyrus had δέ (or δή).

Col. ii

5 βέλτιςτα (without elision) **1810**; editors as usual print βέλτιςθ'. Space does not show which form stood in **4316**.

R. HÜBNER

4317. DEMOSTHENES III 36

5 1B.59/H(bb)   2.7 × 8.5 cm   First/second century

The middle of two lines with the final sentence of *Olynth.* III, followed by a colophon. On the back are parts of ten lines from a money account (?) in a late first to mid-second century cursive; Choiak and the epagomenal days are mentioned, but there is no year-date.

Written in a large, rounded upright capital with noticeable serifs on a number of letters; κ is made in two strokes, with the vertical intersecting the wedge. Comparable hands are Seider, *Pal. gr. Pap.* II no. 17 (more rounded, thicker lettering; assigned to i AD), Turner, *GMAW* no. 24 = XVIII **2161** (smaller lettering; assigned to ii AD) and XXXVII **2820**, dated by Lobel to the first half of ii AD.

The end of *Olynth.* III is present also in **1810** (ii AD) and PSI XI 1205 (*Trenta Testi* 11, see p. 71) (late i AD). In their word-order all three papyri agree with A against the

other MSS. The end-title is present also in PSI 1205, as in SFA, but not apparently in **1810**.

```
        .        .       .
    λει] και πα[cιν υμιν        (§36)
    cυ]νοιcει[ν μελλει
    ]ολυνθι[ακοc
    ]   γ   [
```

1 πᾶcιν ὑμῖν cυνοίcειν **4317**, PSI 1205 **1810** (both απαcιν), A: ἅπαcι cυνοίcειν ὑμῖν SF (ὑμῖν om. U).

2 Ὀλυνθιακὸc γ̄ subscr. SFA, ολυνθια[PSI 1205.

4 γ framed with semicircular strokes: cf. the similar treatment of the book-number in LVII **3890** and of end-titles in general in XLVIII **3371**, LII **3683**, LIII **3715**.

<div align="right">J. E. G. WHITEHORNE</div>

4318. DEMOSTHENES IV 12–14

49 5B.99/D(15–16)b   Fr. 1 5.5 × 7 cm   Second/third century

The tops of two consecutive columns, with the beginnings of 9 and 10 lines respectively. Line-length varies between 13 and 18 letters, with an average of 15, giving c. 31 lines per column. On fr. 2, 3.5 cm of the top margin survive, 2.5 cm on fr. 1, and there is an intercolumnium of 2 cm. The back is blank.

The hand is an angular form of the Severe Style, sloping to the right, bilinear (ρ, τ, υ descend well below the line), with fair-sized, well-spaced letters. Although earlier, Turner, *GMAW* no. 27 is somewhat comparable, as is XXXIX **2888** (pl. VI). It should probably be assigned to the later second or early third century. Movable nu is not written and elision is sometimes present, sometimes not. The only punctuation is the paragraphus. The scribe has made corrections at two points (frr. 1.6, 2.5).

The papyrus offers a unique variant which removes the asyndeton at the start of § 14 (fr. 2.5–6); the related reading of F and U has the same effect. Elsewhere it sides once with F rec. against SF[1], once with SU against F, once with SFU against their marginal variants. Fr. 1.1 confirms that a phrase deleted by Dindorf already stood in the text at this stage.

Part of § 14 (fr. 2.3–8) is extant also in **1810**.

```
                Fr. 1
    τουτ] εξ[ε]ργ[αcαιτο ιc        (§12)
    θ [οτι] πληc[ιον μεν
    ο]ν[τε]c απαcιν α[ν
    τοι[c] πραγμαcι τε[ταραγ
```

```
5   μ[ε]νοιc επιcταν[τεc
    οπωc βουλε[[ι]]c[θε διοι
    κηcαιcθ[ε ω]c δε [νυν
    εχετε ου[δε διδ]ο[ντων
    των κ]αι[ρων] αμ[φιπο
         .       .       .
```

Fr. 2

```
    μαι λ]εγειν δεηθειc υ
    μων] ω ανδρεc αθη
    ναιοι τ]οcουτον επει        §14
    δαν] απαντα ακουcη
5   τ]ε κρειν [[  ]]ʼαʼτε και μη
    δεν πρ[ο]τερον προ
    λαμβανετε μηδ αν
    εξ αρχηc δοκω τινι
    κ]αινην π[αρα]cκευην
10  λ]ε[γειν αναβαλλει]ν
         .       .       .
```

Fr. 1

1 The papyrus confirms that Dindorf's deletion of καὶ τοῦτ' ἐξεργάcαιτο is to be rejected.

6 βουλε[[ ]]cθ[ε: the upright of ε shows some extra ink, and after ε stands a heavily inked upright curving rightwards at the top. Something was clearly deleted or overwritten. Perhaps βουλε[[ι]]cθ[ε; perhaps βουλη, the eta changed to ε or εc (note that F has βούλεcθε with η suprascript).

6–7 διοικήcαιcθε **4318** F rec.: διοικήcεcθε SF[1]: διοικήcετε U.

8 διδόντων **4318** (if the traces are rightly read) SU: διδόντων ὑμῖν F.

Fr. 2

5 κρειν[[ ]]ατε, the original scribe overwrote a letter (κ? ε not suggested) in thick ink. κρίνατε SFU.

5–6 καὶ μηδεν πρ[ο]τερον **4318**: καὶ μὴ πρότερον FU: μὴ πρότερον S (and probably **1810**, to judge from the space).

10 ἀναβάλλειν **4318** (if the final trace is rightly identified) SFU: γρ. καὶ ἀναβαλέcθαι S rec.: ἀναβάλλεcθαι γρ. FU.

Exiguous traces of one more line.

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4319. DEMOSTHENES IV 25–29

112/62(b)   21 × 13 cm   Second century

Part of four consecutive columns, the first and last broken and badly abraded. Up to 3.2 cm of the top margin are extant; the intercolumnium is 2.5 cm. There is a kollesis

3.5 cm from the left-hand edge. Line-length varies from 12 to 18 letters, averaging 15–16 letters, so that column-height was originally 27–28 lines. The back is blank.

The hand is a large sloping Severe Style, comparable to Turner, *GMAW* no. 27 (XXVII **2452**), LII **3656** which is assigned to AD ii/iii, or XXIII **2374**. It is probably to be assigned to the second rather than the third century.

The same hand wrote the angular line-fillers, added punctuation consisting of high stop and paragraphus, and made corrections above the line (iii 5, 6) and within it by overwriting (iii 1). Elision and the writing of iota adscript are both intermittent (iii 8–9 τηι ... ταυτη).

In the way of variant readings, the papyrus offers mainly insignificant omissions (τοὺς before φυλάρχους at ii 5; ἔσται at iii 3; μὲν at iii 6, added above the line in the wrong place); at iii 1 περὶ is added unnecessarily before τῶν χρημάτων. Elsewhere, it sides three times with S against the vulgate (ii 10, iii 7; iii 5 περανῶ [FU] changed to περαίνω [S]).

Parts of §§ 26–7 (ii 1–16) and §§ 28–9 (iii 13–15, iv 1–4) are extant also in PGen. inv. 258 (see above p. 71).

col. i

.   .   .

```
      cαντας και c]τρα              (§25)
      τιωτας οικ]ειο[υc
      ωcπερ επο]πτας [των
      cτρατηγου]μεν[ων
 5    παρακατας]τηcα[ντας
      [επει νυν γε γελωc]
      εcθ ως χρωμ]εθα
      τοις πραγ]μαcι[ν ει
      γαρ εροιτο] τις υ[μας
10    ειρηνην α]γετ[ε
      ω ανδρες αθ]ηναιοι
      μα δι ουχ η]μεις γε
```

.   .   .

col. ii

```
      πε[ρ γαρ οι π]λ[α]ττον
      τε[c τ]ου[c πηλι]γους
      εις] την [αγορα]ν χει
      ροτ]ονειτε [το]υς τα
```

```
 5    ξ]ιαρχους κ[αι] φυλαρ
      χ]ους ουκ επ[ι] τον〉
      πολεμον ου γαρ ε 〉          §27
      χ]ρην ω ανδρ[ε]ς αθη
      να[ιο]ι ταξιαρχους πα
10    ρ [υμω]ν ιππ[α]ρχον
      παρ υ]μων αρχοντας
      οικ]ειους ειναι ιν ην
      ως α]ληθως της πολε
      ως η δ]υναμις· αλλ εις
15    μεν λη]μνον τον πα
      ρ υμων ιπ]παρχον δει
```

.   .   .

col. iii

```
      το δε πε[ρι των χρη          (§28)
      ματων π[οσα και πο
      θεν μαλ[ιστα ποθει
      τε ακου[σαι τουτο δη
 5    και περα‘ι’ν[ω· χρημα
      τα ‘μεν’ τοινυν [εστιν
      η τροφη cιτηρ[εσιον
      μονον τηι δυν[αμει
      ταυτη ταλαντ[α ενε
10    νηκοντα και μικρον
      τι π[ρο]ς δεκα μεν ναυ
      cι τ[αχειαις] τετταρα
      κ[οντα ταλαντα ε]ι
      κ[οσιν εις την ναυν
15    μ[ναι του μηνος εκασ
```

.   .   .

col. iv

.   .   .

```
      θ[ως εγνωκεν εγω            (§29)
```

γα[ρ οιδα cαφωc ο
τ[ι τουτ αν γενη
τα[ι προcποριει

    .   .   .

Col. i

4 cτρατηγου]μεν[ων, as SFU, suits the space in **4319**: δρωμένων Blass after Liban. IV 275.22–3 F.
5 παρακατας]τηcα[νταc **4319**, as SF: -cτήcονταc U.
6 Illegible traces of three letters at line-end.
12 γε **4319**, if rightly read, SF: om. U.

Col. ii

5–6 φυλαρ[χ]ουc **4319**: τοὺc φυλάρχουc SFU, but the papyrus seems to have no room for τουc. (According to Dindorf, τοὺc is omitted also in Paris. Coislin. 324.)
8–9 ὦ ἄνδρεc Ἀθηναῖοι **4319** SFU: ἄνδρεc Ἀθηναῖοι om. PGen (presumably it intended, or misunderstood, the standard abbreviation for the whole phrase, ὦ).
10 ἱππαρχον **4319** S: -χουc PGen. F Hermog. III 303.23, cf. 316.14 Rabe: ἱππαρχον παρ' ὑμῶν om. U.
16 ιπ]πα[ρχον **4319**, as SFU. Nicole, in the first publication, thought that PGen. omitted the word; wrongly, see Hausmann I p. 34.

Col. iii

1 πε[ρι των **4319**: τῶν SFU.
2–3 πο]θεν **4319**: πόθεν ἔcται SFU.
5 περανῶ (as FU) changed to περαίνω (as S).
5–6 χρημα]τα μεν τοινυν [εcτιν (μεν added by the first hand) **4319**: χρήματα τοίνυν· ἔcτιν μὲν SFU.
7 cιτηρέcιον **4319** S: cιτηρέcιον τοῖc cτρατευομένοιc FU.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

4320. DEMOSTHENES IV 46–47

15 2B.40/C(a)   Fr. 1 7.0 × 19.5 cm   Third century

Twenty six lines from one column, lacking only a few letters at the line-ends, with *In Phil.* I 46–7. There is 5 cm of the top margin extant and 1.3 cm of the left-hand intercolumnium, although not for the full height of the fragment. A smaller fragment in the same hand remains unplaced. The back is blank.

The hand is an example of the sloping Severe Style, comparable to Turner, *GMAW* no. 32 (XXVII **2458**) or Seider, *Pal. gr. Pap.* II no. 33, both of which are assigned to the third century. Letters are medium-sized, bilinear except for the descenders of κ, ρ, υ and ψ, and a tendency to continue the upper stroke of δ above the line; ε, θ, o and c are noticeably smaller than the other letters.

Punctuation used is the middle stop and paragraphus; these, and the diaeresis, are all by the same hand which has also made a cancellation and superscript correction in line 17. Another superscript correction, the addition of ἄν at line 10, is noticeably

smaller and may be by a second hand; another, in line 2, is larger but more cursive. Elision is sometimes made and sometimes not. Iota adscript is generally written.

The text offers one unique variant, ψευcάμενοι for ψευδόμενοι in lines 12–13; ψη-φίζεcθε corrected to ψηφίζηcθε in line 17 cannot be regarded as anything but a scribal error (repeated in F). At two places where A offers an extra word, the papyrus sides once with it (11) and once against it (16).

Part of § 46 (fr. 1. 11–13) is extant also in **1810**; part of § 47 (fr. 1. 18–23) in **4314** fr. 6.

Fr. 1

	και] φηcαι· και τον	(§46)	Fr. 2 (unplaced)
	δεινα αιτιαcθα[ι ᵃᶜ		. . .
	και τον δεινα εc[τι		] . . [
	τα δε πραγματα [ε		] . τι[
5	κ τουτων απολωλ[εν·		]υcθ . [
	οταν γαρ ηγηται[		] . ρο . [
	μεν ο cτρατηγο[c		5]αν[
	αθλιων απομ[ι		]μ . [
	cθων ξενων· οι δ [υ		]ρ . [
10	περ ων ʽανʼ εκεινοc		] . . [
	αν εκε[ι] πραξη[ι		. . .
	προc ϋμαc ψευc[α		
	μενοι ραιδιωc ε[ν		
	θαδ ωcιν· ϋμει[c		
15	δ εξ ων αν ακουc[η		
	τε ο [τι] αν τυχ[η		
	ψηφ[ι]ζ[[ε]]ʽηʼcθε τι [και		
	χρη προc]δοκαν [πωc	§47	
	ουν ταυτ]α παυcε[ται		
20	οτ]αν ϋμεις ω α[ν		
	δρ]εc αθηναιοι τ[ουc		
	α]υτουc αποδειξ[ητε		
	cτρα[τι]ωταc κα[ι		
	μ]αρτυ[ρ]αc των cτ[ρα		
25	τ]ηγουμενων κ[αι δι		
	κα[c]ταc οικαδ [ελ		

    .   .   .

Fr. 1

2 αιτιαϲθα[ι corrected it seems by the addition of αϲ above the line: αἰτιᾶϲθαι ut vid. F¹: αἰτιάϲαϲθαι SA.

6 ἡγῆται **4320** S γρ. F mg. A: ἥττηται (γ written above the first η) F text.

8 ἀθλίων ἀπομίϲθων **4320** SA: litt. β α transp. F.

10–11 υ]περ ων αν εκεινοϲ αν, the first αν added, perhaps by a second hand, with no sign that the second was deleted: ὑπὲρ ὧν ἂν ἐκεῖνοϲ SFA.

11 ἐκεῖ **4320** A: om. SF.

12 13 ψευϲ[α]μενοι: ψευδόμενοι SFA.

15 ἂν **4320** AF: om. S.

16 τυχ[η: spacing would permit either τύχηι (F) or τύχητε (S), but not τύχηι ῥαιδίωϲ (A).

17 ψηφίζεϲθε altered to ψηφίζηϲθε: similarly in F: -ζηϲθε SA.

καὶ **4320** (to judge from the space) SF: om. A.

20 Only the foot of υ survives, but presumably it was marked with diaeresis as in 12 and 14.

21–2 τοὺϲ αὐτοὺϲ ἀποδείξητε **4320** SFA: αποδειξητε τουϲ] αυτο[υϲ **4314**.

Fr. 2

1 Traces only; second a rounded letter.

2 τι or . .τ, or . π?

4 First letter the hasta of pi or perhaps nu.

7 After rho a rounded letter?

8 Traces of tops of letters only.

A word search of *In Phil.* I and the other Philippic speeches, using the Ibycus Scholarly Computer, has yielded a partial match with *In Phil.* I 41:

καὶ ϲτρατηγεῖϲθ' ὑπ' ἐκείνου, βεβούλε]υϲθε[δ' οὐδὲν

αὐτοὶ ϲυμφ]έρον[περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, οὐδὲ πρὸ τῶν πραγ]μά[των

προο]ρᾶ[τ' οὐδέν, πρὶν ἂν ἢ γεγενημένον ἢ γιγνόμενόν τι

πύθησθε.

However it is clear that the extreme variation in word order must mean that this is not a persuasive match.

4321. DEMOSTHENES IV 47–51

4 1B.61/H(g)   Fr. 1 10.5 × 17.5 cm   Second century

Fragments of three adjacent columns in a largish rounded hand of the second century similar to those of XVIII **2159–64** + XX **2245–55** and PSI 1212. The lines had an average of 16 letters; the columns, of 40–41 lines, measured 5.5 cm × 21 cm and were 1.5 cm apart, with a margin of at least 1.5 cm at the head and 3 cm at the foot. This was the end of the roll (below the short col. iii is a blank, and traces probably from the decoration of an end-title); the whole speech would have occupied some 26 columns, rather less than 2 m of papyrus. The back is blank.

The original scribe wrote some space-fillers at line-end. Another hand, thick and messy, has punctuated the text throughout in a paler ink that in places has almost faded away; as the surface is also in a poor state, the details are sometimes uncertain, and the absence of punctuation at any point in the transcript does not imply that there

never was any. The punctuation consists of accents (´, `, and ˆ, usually spanning both vowels), breathings (˧ and ˦, in diphthongs sometimes clearly on the second vowel, at other times intermediate), and short-mark; diastole between words, apostrophe after οὐκ, high, middle (4, 17, 28) and low stops, and hyphen in prepositional compounds. None of this is unusual in itself: see Turner, *GMAW*² pp. 7–12. But we rarely find even a verse text so fully marked; in prose, such elaborate preparation, and especially the frequent use of diastole, suggests that the text had been prepared for school use, although it is prima facie a regular book roll, not an extract or exercise. On such preparation, see R. Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Diss. Columbia, 1993) 102. In order to convey the full effect, the transcript which follows is printed without the conventional word-spaces.

Parts of the same sections appear also in **1810** (corresponding to 1–15, 22–4, 31–4, 46–52, 92–4), and in PWashUniv II 66 (corresponding to 1–12 and 68–84).

col. i

ϲτρατηγωνεκ]αϲτοϲδῑϲ,

καιτριϲκρινε]ταιπαρ'ϋ〉

μινπεριθ]ανατο[υ]προϲ,

δετουϲεχ]θρουϲ[ου]δειϲ,·

5   ουδαπαξαυ]των[αγ]ω〉

νιϲαϲθαιπερι]θανατου,

τολμαιαλλατοντ]ων

[ανδραποδιϲτωνκαι]

[λωποδυτωνθανατον]·

10   [μαλλοναιρουνταιτου]

[προϲηκοντοϲκακουργου]

μενγαρεϲτι],κρι[θε]ν

τααποθανει]ν·ϲτρατη

γουδεμαχομ]ενον,τοιϲ

15   πολεμιοιϲη]ῤων,δ'[ο]ῑ,   §48

μενπεριοντ]εϲ,μετα

λακεδαιμονί]ων,φαϲι,·

φιλιππονπρ]αττειν

τηνθηβαιων]καταλυ

20   ϲινκαιταϲπολι]τείαϲ

διαϲπανοιδω]ϲπρέ[[ϲ]]

ϲβειϲπεπομφεν]ωϲ,βα

ειλεαοιδενιλλυ]ρίοις,.
πολειςτειχιζεινοι]δε
25 λογουςπλαττοντε]ς,.
εκαστοςπ]ερϊὲρχ[ο]με
θαεγωδο]ϊ̂δμαι,μεν   §49
ωανδρες]ἀθηναιοι·
[νητουςθεουςεκει]
30 νονμεθυειντωμε]γε
θειτωνπεπραγ]μένων·
καιπολλατοιαυτ]α,ὀν(m. 2)ει
ροπωλεινεντη]ι,γνώ
μηιτηντερη]μίαν
35 τωνκωλυσοντ]ων,·
ορωντακαιτ]οις
πεπραγμενο]ις,
επηρμενον],οὐ,
μεντοιγεμαδιου]τω,·
40 προαιρεισθαιπρατ]τειν

col. ii

ωστε,τους,ἀνοητ[ο
τατους,των,παρ᾽ἡ̂μ[ιν
εἰδέναι,τί,μέλλει,πο[ι
ειν,ἐκεῖνος,ανοητο
45 τατοι,γαρ,εἰ̣ς̣ι̣ν,οι,λ[ο]   §50
γοποιοῦντες,·ἀλλ᾽αν,ἀ̣
φέντες,ταῦτα,·ἐκε[ι]ν̣ο̣
ειδῶμεν,·ὅτι,ἐχθρος
ἄνθρωπος,·καὶ,τα,ἡμε
50 τερ᾽ἡ̣μας̣ᾱπὸ[στ]ερεῖ,
και,χρονο[νπολ]υν[υ
βρικεν,και,πα̣νθ[οσα
πώποτ᾽ἠλπίϲαμέ[ντι
νά,πράξειν,ὑπ̅ερ,ημ[ων
55 καθ᾽ημων,ἐύρητα[ι
και,τα,λοῖπα,·ἐν,ἡμιν,α[υ

τοις,ἔϲτιν,·καν,μη,νυν,
ἐθέλωμεν,·ἔκει,πολε
μεῖν,ἂυτωι,ἐνθάδ᾽ϊϲωϲ
60 ἂναγκαϲθηϲ[ο]μεθα,·τοῦ
το,ποιεῖν,·εἀ̆[ν]ταῦτα,ἐι
δῶμεν·και,ταδέοντα,·
ἐϲό[μεθε]γνωκ[ό]τε[ϲ
και,[λ]ογων,ματαίων,·α
65 πηλλαγμένοι,·οὐ,γαρ,
ἅττά,πὸτ᾽ἔϲται,δει,ϲκο
πεῖν,·ἀλλ᾽·ὅτι·φαῦλα,·ἒ
αν,[μηπροϲεχη]τε,τον
νου[νκαιταπροϲ]ἥκο[ν
70 [ταποιεινεθελητευ]
ειδε[ναιεγωμενουν   §51
οὐκ᾽ἂλ[λοτεπωποτε
προς,χ[αρινειλομην
λεγει[νοτιανμηκαι
75 ϲὔνο̣[ιϲεινπεπειϲμε
νο̣[ϲωννυνθαγιγ]νω
ϲ[κωπανθαπλ]ωϲ,·ου
δ[ενυποϲτειλά]μενος
πε[παρρηϲι]αϲμαι,·ἐβο[υ
80 λο[μηνδα]ν,·ὡϲ,περ,ὅ
τι,ὔμιν,ϲ[υμφ]έρει,·το,τα,

col. iii

βελτιϲ]ταἆκο[νεινοιδα
ουτωϲ]ἐ̇ιδέν[αιϲυννοιϲον
καιτωι]τα,·β[ελτιϲτα
85 [ειποντιπολλωιγαρ]
[ανηδιονειχοννυν]
δεπαδηλ]ο̣[ιϲ],[ουϲιν
το]ιϲ,απο,τουτω[νεμαυ
τωι,γενηϲομέν[οιϲο
90 μωϲ,ἐπ[ι]τωϲ[υνοιϲειν

υμιν,·ἔ[ανπραξηγηται
τα,πεπε[ιςθ]α[ιλεγειναι
ρου̂[μ]αι[νικ]ώη,[δοτιπαςιν
μελ]λει,ςὔνοι̂ς[ειν

Lectional signs Accents sometimes appear over consonants, either from constraints of space or apparently by anticipation (see 15, 42)   1 δίς or perhaps δίς   13 ςτρατη: below left upright of η ink shaped like a small c: blot?   15 η]μων rather than ἡ]μων or ἡ]μων, cf. 42   18 πρ]άττειν or possibly πρ]άττειν   21 ω]ς or possibly ω]ς,   26 ἐρχ or possibly ἐρχ   44 νος, or possibly νος· or νος,· ανοη: unexplained ink above η   45 εἰςιν: horizontal mark above ς (i.e. εἰςιν or εἰςιν?)   50 τερ' or possibly τερα   53 ποτ': unexplained ink above π   54 πράξειν or possibly πρᾶξειν   58 ἐκει: breathing and accent uncertain   59 ἰςως: some ink not explained, perhaps smooth breathing or short-mark as well   61 εἄ[ν: short-mark uncertain (most of the ink comes above ε), perhaps ἔα[ν or ἐα[ν or ἔα[ν   62 δέοντα: sign above ο, ὂ or ὄ?   65 αγμένοι: ink above α, ᾶ or ᾰ?   67 ἐ̈: unexplained blob of ink below   73 προς: unexplained ink to top right of ς   75 ςὔν: presumed short-mark narrow and blotted   76]νω: unexplained ink above and below (see on 77)   77 ου: ink above, οὔ?   94 ςὔν: short-mark vestigial, but cf. 75.

17–8 Φίλιππόν φαςι A.
22–3 ὡς βαςιλέα **4321 1810** SA: ὡς πρὸς βαςιλέα F.
27 οἴομαι **4321** A: οἶμαι SF.
34–38 These lines seem to have been shorter than 39–40, more than could be accounted for by any typical irregularity of the left-hand margin (cf. ii 25 ff., which project one letter to the left of the lines preceding). It may be that the papyrus had a longer text, and that the traces at the ends of 35–8 should be differently interpreted.
39 γε om. A, post οὕτω transp. Cobet (but 40 is more than full without it).
46 ἄν **4321** S: ἐὰν FA.
47 εκε[ι]νο or possibly εκειν' **4321**: ἐκεῖνο SF: ἐκεῖνα A.
48 εἰδῶμεν **4321** SF: ἰδῶμεν F¹: ἴδωμεν A.
52 πάνθ' **4321** A: ἅπανθ' SF.
56–7 ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς **4321** FA: αὐτοῖς ἡμῖν S.
67–8 ἐὰν **4321** SF: ἂν A.
68–9 τὸν νοῦν **4321** PWashUniv S: τοῖς πράγμαςι τὸν νοῦν FA.
70 ποιεῖν **4321** PWashUniv SA: om. F.
72 ουκ **4321**: οὔτε PWashUniv SFA.
75 ςυνοίςειν **4321** (to judge from the space) S: ςυνοίςειν ἡμῖν FA. In PWashUniv the spacing is indecisive.
81 τὸ τὰ **4321** FA (cf. *Prooem.* 26.2): τὰ S. In PWashUniv the spacing is indecisive.
90–3 In the margin to the left of these lines are the remains of a coronis.
91 ἐὰν **4321** F: ἂν SA.
93–4 πᾶςιν **4321** (to judge from the space) **1810** S: πᾶςιν ὑμῖν FA.
13 Below this line are 2 cm of blank papyrus; further down, in the right-hand margin of ii 60, an upright which presumably formed part of the ornamental border to an end-title.

W. E. H. COCKLE–M. D. REEVE

4322. DEMOSTHENES V 13–14

8 1B.192/H(2–3)a   8.8 × 12.5 cm   Second century

Most of eleven lines from the foot of a column, with a left-hand margin of 2 cm and a bottom margin of 6 cm. On the back, written across the fibres, are the remnants of eight lines of an account or register, in a second century cursive hand.

The text is written in a well-made, rounded book-hand of medium size, somewhat comparable to PRyl I 60 (pl. X), which has been assigned to a date c. 200 AD or later (Turner, *GMAW*² pp. 38, 148 n. 19), except that the letters there are larger and more finely drawn. Many letters are ornamented with small serifs. The hand is probably to be dated to the middle or late second century. The scribe writes angular filler-marks at line-ends. There is no punctuation.

The text is typically eclectic. It disagrees twice with all the major manuscripts, in omitting δ' at the beginning of § 14, and in writing τούτοις for τούτους in 10 (simple error?); it may offer the accusative γεγενημένην (1), a reading conjectured by Reiske and attested only in two late MSS. It also agrees once with the rest against S (3), and once with the correctors of S and A against F and their original readings (8).

```
                        ·    ·
        καιρον η γεγενημε]νην
        νυν δι ημας λυθην]αι πολ
        λα γαρ προειμ[ε]θα ων υ
        παρχοντων τοτ αν η νυν
5       αςφαλεςτερος και ρα[ω]ν
        ην ημειν ο πολεμος ⟩
        δευτερον οραν οπως        §14
        μη προαξομεθα ω ανδρες
        αθηναιοι τους ςυνελη
10      λυθοτας τουτοις κ[αι] φα ⟩
        ςκοντας αμφικτυο[να]ς
```

1]νην **4322** (both space and trace suggest this rather than νυν), i.e. γεγενημένην as Pal. 113 Vind. 1 (coni. Reiske): γεγενημένη SFA.
3 προείμεθα **4322** FA: προιείμεθα S.
7 δεύτερον **4322**: δεύτερον δ' SFA.
8 προαξόμεθα **4322** S corr. A corr.: προαξώμεθα S¹FA¹.
10 τουτοις **4322**: τούτους SFA.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

4323. DEMOSTHENES VI 1–2, 6–7

32 4B.7/H(1)   Fr. 1 5.5 × 6 cm   Third century

Three small fragments from a leaf of a codex. Frr. 1 and 2 are contiguous; fr. 3 does not joint, but fits below fr. 1 and to the right of fr. 2 (providing letters from the

latter part of (↓8–17). About 2 cm of the top margin survives. About 1 cm from the top on the right-hand page (↓) the title *ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ B* occurs, underlined at two points with curling decorative strokes and with *B* written double the size of the other letters.

The absence of the other margins makes it difficult to offer more than a guess at the original format of the codex. At 28–32 letters per line, line-length may be calculated at c. 10 cm. Assuming a one-column page, about 38 lines have been lost at the foot of the right-hand page (↓). This gives a column length of c. 55 lines in c. 27 cm. Dimensions exclude margins. Among the codices surveyed by E. G. Turner, *Typology of the Early Codex* (1977), there are several with a written area of roughly the same dimensions and a similar number of lines per column (ibid. Table 16, nos. 8, 21, 46 [also Demosthenes], 106, 150, 205, 280, P69 [XXIV **2383**, Luke], OT183). Like the present example, the majority are papyrus codices of the third century.

The hand is a Severe Style of a common type; small, neat, with letters well spaced; leaning very slightly to the right; bilinear except for the descenders of ρ, v, ϕ and small o, which is positioned high off the baseline; γ, ξ, and sometimes τ and χ are written with serifs. Comparable hands are L **3542** and LII **3655**.

Iota adscript is not used, and scriptio plena is avoided. Apart from the marks used to separate title and text, there appears to be no punctuation. A second hand, rounded, sloping and informal (with αι ligatured) has made a supralinear addition at ↓ 17.

The papyrus is typically eclectic in the readings it offers. The omission of *τοῦτο* at →3 is best regarded as a scribal error. At ↓ 9 it follows the vulgate tradition against the omission of *εἰπεῖν* by S, but at ↓ 17 it follows S against the other primary MSS in its omission of *εἶναι*: the supralinear addition of the verb by a second hand brings it into line with the vulgate. At →4 it follows A against S in reading *ταῦτα πάντα*; at →10, however, it follows S again in omitting *τῶν ἄλλων* after *βέλτιον*.

Parts of §§ 1 (↓1–6) are extant also in PAmh II 24, parts of §§ 6–7 (→ 1–16) in PRainCent 21 + PKöln IV 183.

↓ (right-hand page)

κατα [φιλι]ππου B

οταν ω] ανδρες αθη[ν]αιοι λογοι [γιγνων   §1
ται πε]ρι ων φιλιππο[c] πραττει κα[ι βιαζε
ται π]αρα την ε[ι]ρηνην [αει] τ[ους υπερ
ημω]ν λογου[c και] δικαιου[c] κα[ι φιλανθρω
που]c ορω φ[αινο]μενους κα[ι λεγειν μεν
απα]ντας α[ει τα δεοντα δοκ]ου[ντας τους
κατ]ηγορου[ντας φιλιππ]ου γ[ιγνομενον
δ ουδ]εν ως επος ει[πειν των δεοντων

5

---

10   ουδ ω]ν ενεκα τα[υτ ακο]υειν α[ξιον αλλ εις   §2
τουτ] ηδη προηγμ[ενα τ]υγχα[νει παντα
τα πρ]αγματα τ[η πολ]ει ωσθ [οσω τις αν
μαλλον] και φαν[ερωτε]ρον εξε[λεγχη φιλιπ
πον κα]ι την π[ρος υμ]ας ειρ[ηνην παρα
15   βαινον]τα και π[ασι το]ις ελλ[ησιν επιβου
λευοντα τοσουτω το τ]ι χρη π[οιειν συμ
βουλευσαι χαλεπωτερον] 'ειναι' [

.   .   .

→ (left-hand page)

Αθηναιο]ι θαρρει ο[ρ]ων ηλικος η[δη και ο
cων κυρι]ος εστι φιλιππος και μηδε[να
οιεται κ]ινδυνον φερ[ει]ν τη πολ[ει μηδ
εφ υμας] ταυτ[α] παντα [παρα]σκευα[ζεσθαι
5   *θαυμαζ]ω και δεηθη[ναι π]αντων [ομοι*
ως υμ]ων βουλ[ομαι τους λο]γισμο[υς ακου
σαι μο]υ δια β[ραχεων δι ο]υς τανα[ντι ε
μοι πα]ρεστη[κε π]ροσδοκαν και [δι ων
εχθρον] ηγουμ[αι φι]λιππον ιν[α εαν μεν
10   *εγω δοκ]ω βελ[τιον] προοραν εμ[οι πεισθητε*
αν δ οι] θαρρου[ντες] και πεπι[στευκοτες
αυτω του]τοις π[ροσθη]σθε ε[γ]ω τ[οινυν ω   §7
ανδρες α]θηναι[οι λογι]ζομαι τ[ινων ο φι
λιππος κυ]ριος π[ρωτον] μετα [την ειρηνην
15   *κατεστη] πυλων [και τω]ν ε[ν φωκευσι*
πραγματ]ων τι ο[υν πως τουτοις εχρησατο

.   .   .

↓
1 The initial title also in PAmh.
9 ἔπος εἰπεῖν **4323** FA: εἰπεῖν om. S.
10 ἕνεκα **4323** SA: εἵνεκα F.
17 ειναι inserted by a second hand. χαλεπώτερον S: χαλεπώτερον εἶναι S rec. FA.

→
3 φερ[ει]ν **4323**: φέρειν τοῦτο PRainCent SFA.
4 ταῦτα πάντα **4323** A: πάντα ταῦτα F: πάντα S.

10 βέλτιον **4323** S: βέλτιον τῶν ἄλλων S rec. FA (and perhaps PRainCent+PKöln, to judge from the space, but the lacunas there are so large that any such argument is bound to be uncertain).
12 π[ροςθη]ςθε **4323** (to judge from the space) FA: προςθήςεςθε S.

<div align="right">J. E. G. WHITEHORNE</div>

4324. DEMOSTHENES VI 25–26

10 1B.160/J(b)   5.3 × 3.2 cm   First century

A small fragment with the ends of 7 lines and a right-hand margin of 1.3 cm. There is what appears to be a sheet-join 1.5 cm in from the left-hand edge. The back is blank.

The hand is a round upright book hand, with small neat letters, bilinear except for slight downward extension of ι and υ. It is broadly similar to LII **3657** (pl. II), which was assigned to the second century; but some features (α in the capital shape, ε broad with detached cross-bar, υ made sometimes with three strokes, its bowl wide and shallow) suggest comparison with scripts like Roberts, *GLH* 10b (AD 30–35). A date in the first century is likely.

A high almost horizontal dash indicates the end of a sentence (3); the colour of the ink suggests that this is the work of a second hand.

There is one error of omission (6–7).

```
   πως εφην] μη πολεμου ζη
   τουντες] απαλλαγηναι
   δεςποτην] ευρητε΄ ταυτα          §26
   ακουςαντ]ες εκε[ινοι] και θο
 5 ρυβουν]τες ω[ς ορθ]ως
   λεγεται κα]ι πο[λλους] ετε
   ρους παρα] τω[ν πρεςβεων
                ] . [
       .     .     .     .
```

2–3 ἀπαλλαγῆναι ... εὕρητε **4324** SFA: ἀπαλλαγὴν ... εὑρήσετε Cobet.
3 A mark like a grave accent after ταυτα, perhaps by the second hand.
6–7 ετε[ρους: ἑτέρους λόγους SFA, but **4324** has no room for λόγους (the omission presumably due to homoeoteleuton: the scribe skipped from -ους to -ους).
7 παρά **4324** (to judge from the space) SF: καὶ παρά A, for which there is no room.

<div align="right">J. E. G. WHITEHORNE</div>

4325. [DEMOSTHENES] VII 26

18 2B.71/E(4)a   3.7 × 6.5 cm   Third century

Ends of ten lines, with up to 1.5 cm of the right-hand margin. The back is blank.
A typical example of the Severe Style, the hand is medium-sized and angular,

---

slanting very slightly to the right; verticals of υ and φ extend well below and, in the case of φ, well above the line; o is noticeably smaller than the other rounded letters; no ligatures except occasionally from α and ε to following ι. A somewhat comparable hand is L **3542**.

The original scribe wrote wedge-shaped line-fillers (1), and punctuation by high stop (2, 5). Line-length is from 17 to 20 letters and, to judge from the number of letters lost at the start of the lines, elision was sometimes made, sometimes not. Movable ν is omitted at sentence-end in line 5.

At 4, the papyrus sides with FY against SA.

Part of the same section (lines 1–7) is extant also in PLaur IV 135.

```
       .     .     .     .
   ιστε φηςι δ αμφι]πο >            (§26)
   λιν εαυτου ει]ναι· υμας
   γαρ ψηφιςας]θαι εκεινου
   ειναι οτ εψη]φιζεςθε
 5 εχειν αυτον] α ειχε· υμεις
   δε το μεν ψη]φιςμα του
   τ εψηφιςασθ ου] μεντο[ι] γ ε
   κεινου ειναι] αμφιπο
   λιν εςτι γαρ εχε]ιν̣ κα[ι
10 τα αλλοτρια και ο]υχ απ[αν
       .     .     .     .
```

4 ἐψηφίζεςθε **4325** Y, F (with ca written above ζε): ἐψηφίςαςθε SA.
5 ἔχειν **4325** (to judge from the spacing), SFAY: α[πε]χειν PLaur 135.
7 Spacing suggests that elision was made.
10 Spacing suggests *scriptio plena*.

<div align="right">J. E. G. WHITEHORNE</div>

4326. DEMOSTHENES VIII 14–21

15 2B.43/E(c)   9.5 × 19.5 cm   Third century

Three contiguous fragments from a page of a single-column codex, with 40 lines extant on the front (→) and 38 on the back (↓). Line-length varies from 19 to 27 letters, with a mean of 22–23; 8–9 lines are therefore missing from the bottom of the column on the front, giving an original column-height of 48–49 lines. In this format the speech would have occupied about 20 columns. The top margin survives to 2 cm on each side

and the outer margins to 1.5 cm. The original dimensions of the page, assuming a
bottom margin of the same depth as the top, will have been a minimum of 11 × 25 cm,
which would put the codex squarely within the range of Group 8 on E. G. Turner's
typology (*The Typology of the Early Codex* 20 and cf. 24).

The text is written in an informal square hand, bilinear, with well-spaced, small
to medium-sized letters. Paris suppl. gr. 1120 (Turner, *Typology* pl. 2) or PRyl III 463
(Roberts, *GLH* pl. 20c) are comparable, except that the letters are drawn with a thicker
pen here and are not so closely packed. Both these texts are assigned to the third century.

Iota adscript and movable nu are sometimes written, sometimes not (movable nu
before consonants: →18, 25, 26). Elision too is only occasionally made (*scriptio plena*
→14). The only mark of punctuation is what appears to be a high stop at ↓29, although
a space left at →13 is perhaps to be taken as indicating the start of the new sentence.
A rough breathing at ↓26. At →3 and 12 final nu at line-end is written as a superscript
dash. Supralinear corrections by the original hand (→16, ↓24, 26).

The papyrus offers three unique variants, none of them worth much: ἀμύνασθαι
for ἀμυνεῖσθαι →26; προσκατασκευάζειν for προσπαρασκευάζειν ↓13; τῆς πόλεως τοὺς
συναγωνιζομένους for τῆς πόλεως συναγωνιζομένης ↓23. There are also three careless
omissions of particles (→20, 25, 27), and two itacistic spellings (↓10, 32). In other places
the papyrus shows a typically eclectic character, sometimes supporting S against the
other MSS, or one or more of them, and sometimes supporting the majority against a
single MS.

Parts of §§ 18–20 (↓5–19) are also attested in **4327**.

→

    κεδονιας και θετταλιας] εαν ουν
    περιμεινας τους ετησια]ς επι βυ
    ζαντιον ελθων πολιορκηι] πρωτο͞
    μεν οιεσθε τους βυζαντι]ους με
5 νειν επι της ανοιας τη]ς αυ[της ωσπ]ερ
    νυν και ουτε παρα]καλε[σειν υμ]ας
    ουτε βοηθειν αυτ]οις αξιως[ειν
    εγω μεν ουκ οιομαι α]λλα [και] ει τι   §15
    σι μαλλον απιστ]ουσιν η ημιν
10 και τουτ[ο]υς ει[σφ]ρησεσθαι μαλ
    λον η εκεινωι παραδωσειν την
    π[ο]λιν εανπερ μη φθαση λ[αβ]ω͞
    αυ]τους ουκουν ημων μ[εν μ]η
    δυναμενων ενθενδε αναπ[λε]υ

15 ςαι εκει δε μηδε[μι]α[ς υπ]αρχου
    σης ετοιμου βοηθειας [ο]υδε`ν` αν
    τους απολωλεναι κωλ[υς]ει νη   §16
    δια κακοδαιμονουςιν γα[ρ] αν
    θρωποι κ[αι] υπερβαλ[λουσιν] ανοι
20 αι πανυ γε ομως α[υ]τ[ου]ς [δει σω
    ς εινα[ι συ]μφερει γα[ρ τηι πολ]ει και
    μη[ν ουδ εκ]εινο γε δηλο[ν ες]τιν
    ημιν ως ε]πι χερρ[ο]νης[ον ουχ [ηξ]ει
    αλλ ει γ εκ] της επιστολης δει [ς]κο
25 πε[ιν ης ε]πε[μ]ψεν προς [υμα]ς
    αμυνασθαι φησιν τους εν χ[ε]ρρο
    νησωι εαν τοινυν η το συ[νες
    τηκος στ[ρ]ατευμα και τη χ[ω]ρ[α   §17
    βοηθηςα[ι] δυνησεται και των [ε
30 κεινου τ[ι] κακως ποιησαι ει δε
    απαξ διαφθαρησεται και δια[λυ
    θ]ησεται τ[ι] ποιησομεν εαν επι
    χερρονησον ιηι κρινουμε[ν
    διοπ[ειθη ν]η δια και τι τα πρα
35 γματ [εσται βελτιω αλ]λ [εν
    θενδ [αν βοηθησαιμεν αυτοι αν
    δ [υ]π[ο των πνευματων μη δυνω
    μεθα α[λλο μα δι ουχ ηξει
    κα[ι] τ[ις εγγυητης εστι του   §18
40 τ[ο]υ αρ [ορατε και λογιζεσθε

    .   .   .   .

↓
    . . .[
    π [ωρ]ε[ον πρωην ποτερον κρειτ
    τον ε[νθαδε αυτον αμυνεσθαι
    και π[ροσελθειν τον πολεμον
5 π[ρος] τη[ν αττικην εασαι η κα
    τασκευαζε[ιν εκει τινα ασχολιαν

α]υτωι εγω [μεν οιομαι τουτο ταυ   §19
τα τοινυν [απαντας ειδοτας και
λ[ογι]ζομε[νου]ς χρη μα δι ουχ [ην
10 δ[ιο]πειθης πειραται δυναμε[ιν
τη]ι πολει παρα[ς]κευαζειν ταυτην [βας
κα[ιν]ειν κ[αι] δ[ια]λυειν πειρα[ς]θαι α[λλ ε
τ[εραν] αυ[τους π]ροςκατασκευαζει[ν
κ]αι ς[υ]ν[ευπορουν]τας εκεινωι χρημ[α
15 των [και τα αλλα] ο[ι]κειως συναγω[νι
ζομε[νους ει γαρ] τις εροιτο φιλιπ[πον   §20
ειπε μοι ποτερ αν βουλοιο τουτου[ς
τους στρατιω]τα[ς ο]υς διοπειθης νυ[ν ε
χει τους ο]π[οιους]τινασουν ουδ[εν
20 γαρ] αντι[λεγω ευ]θενε[ιν και] παρα [αθη
ν[αι]οις ευδ[ο]ξειν και π[λειους γιγνες
θαι] της πολεως τους [συναγω]ν[ιζο
μενους η διαβα[λ]λον[των τιν]ων [και
κατηγο[ρου]ντ[ω]ν διασπασθ'η'ναι κα[ι δι
25 αφθ[αρηναι] τ[αυ]τα οιμαι φησειεν
ε]ιθ α̅ φ[ιλιππος α]ν ευξαιτο τοις θ[ε
οι[ς] τα[υθ] ημων [τ]ινε[ς] ενθαδε πρ[ατ
το]υςιν ειτα ετι ζη[τει]τε ποθεν τ[α
τη]ς πολε[ως] απ[ο]λ[ω]λεν απαντα· [βου   §21
30 λο]μα[ι] τοιν[υν υ]μ[ας] μ[ε]τα παρρ[ησι
ας] εξε[τα]ςα[ι τα] παροντα πραγμ[α
τα] τη[ι] π[ολει κ]αι ς[κεψαςθ]ε τι π[οι
ου]με[ν αυτ]οι [νυν και οπω]ς χρωμ[ε
θ αυτοις ημ]ει[ς ουτε χρημ]ατα ει[ς
35 φερειν βο]υ[λομεθα ουτ αυ]τοι στρ[α
τευεσθαι τολμωμ]ε[ν ουτε τ]ων κ[οι
νων απεχεσθαι δυναμεθα ου]τε [τ]α[ς
συνταξεις διοπειθει διδομ]εν ο[υθ

      .   .   .

→ 5 τῆς ἀνοίας τῆς αὐτῆς 4326 SF: τῆς αὐτῆς ἀνοίας AY.

---

6 Spacing suits παρακαλέςειν SFAY, rather than Cobet's παρακαλεῖν.
7 Spacing favours βοηθεῖν (FAY), although βοηθήςειν (S) cannot be excluded.
8 Spacing allows either οἴομαι (SA) or οἶμαι (FY).
11 ἐκείνῳ 4326 FAY: κείνῳ S: 'κείνῳ Bekker.
12 εανπερ 4326: ἄνπερ SFAY.
18 κακοδαιμονοῦςι 4326 SFAY Hermog. 313.14, 356.23 Rabe: κακοδαιμονῶςι H. Wolf, editors.
20 πάνυ 4326 SFAY: ςφόδρα Hermog.
ομως 4326: ἀλλ' ὅμως SFAY.
26 αμυναςθαι 4326: ἀμυνεῖςθαι SFY: ἀμύνεςθαι A.
27 εαν 4326: ἄν SFAY.
τοιννν 4326: μὲν τοίνυν SFAY.
28 ςτράτευμα 4326 S: τοῦτο ςτράτευμα FAY.
31 διαφθαρήςεται καὶ 4326 FY: om. SA.
34 Spacing allows either Διοπείθην (SA) or Διοπείθη (S corr. FY).

↓

1–2 ἐπ' Ὠρεὸν πρῴην 4326 SAY: πρώιην ἐπ' ὠρεὸν F.
9 μὰ Δί' 4326 SFAY: οὐ μὰ Δί' 4327 S eras.
10–11 δύναμιν τῇ πόλει 4326 AY: τῇ πόλει δύναμιν 4327 SF.
11–12 The lines seem unusually long.
11 παραςκευάζειν 4326 4327 SAY: κατακευάζειν F before correction.
12 διαλύειν 4326 FAY: διαλῦςαι 4327 S.
13 π]ροςκατακευαζει[ν 4326: προςπαραςκευάζειν 4327 SFAY.
17 βούλοιο 4326 SFAY: βού]λοιτο 4327.
18 νῦν 4326 4327 SFAY: om. F[1].
22–3 τους [συναγω]ν[ιζο]μενους 4326: ςυναγωνιζομένης SFAY.
25 τ[αυ]τα οιμαι 4326: ταῦτ' ἂν οἶμαι SFA (τοῦτ' changed to ταῦτ' F: τοῦτο Y).
27 ἡμῶν 4326 SF: ὑμῶν AY Hermog. 178.12 Rabe.
30 υ]μ[ας: ὑμᾶς SFAY: om. U, secl. Ruediger: πρὸς ὑμᾶς Vind. 1, Felicianus.
32 ςκέψαςθε 4326 F[1] A: ςκέψαςθαι SY.
36 τολμωμ]ε[ν: τολμῶμεν FAY: om. S.

                                        J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

4327. DEMOSTHENES VIII 18–20

30 4B.36/H(6–9)b   4.5 × 14.5 cm   Third century

Two contiguous fragments give the top of a column with twenty three lines; 4.3 cm of the top margin are extant. A column number indicates that this was the twenty third column of the roll. Even assuming the minimum column-height of 23 lines, the earlier section of the speech would have occupied only 13 columns; assuming a height of 45 lines, only 6.5 columns. Originally therefore the roll will have contained more than *De Chersoneso*.

On the back, across the fibres, are remnants of 14 lines from a document of unidentified type mentioning artabas, written in an untidy third century cursive.

The text itself is written in a well-made book-hand of the Biblical Uncial type, comparable to PRyl III 542 (pl. IX=G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla Maiuscola Biblica* pl. 20). Strictly bilinear except for ρ, υ and sometimes τ, and a number of the letters are adorned

with small serifs. Iota adscript is written. The scribe marks elision by apostrophe in 13, and writes middle (11) and high (4, 5) stops. The column number in the top margin is written cursively, presumably by a second hand.

The papyrus offers one unique reading, βούλοιτο for βούλοιο (21), and perhaps omits τοὺς from τούτους τοὺς στρατιώτας (21–2), presumably by haplography. It sides once against S on an orthographic point (4); with S at 9 (also F) and 12, and with the original reading of S at 7–8, all against **4326**.

This portion of the text is attested also in **4326** ↓5–19.

                (m. 2) κγ΄
                ρος] την αττικην εα
                σαι η] κατασκευαζειν [ε
                κει] τινα ασχολιαν
                αυτω]ι· εγω μεν οιμα[ι
    5   τουτ]ο· ταυτα τοινυν   §19
                απα]ντας ειδοτας και
                λογιζ]ομενους χρη ου
                μα δι]α ουχ ην διοπει
                θης] πειραται τηι πο
    10   λει δ]υναμιν παρασκε[υ
                αζει]ν· ταυτην βα
                σκαινειν] και διαλυσαι
                πειρασθα]ι αλλ’ ετεραν
                αυτους πρ]οσπαρασκευ
    15   αζειν και] συνευποροι[ν
                τας εκειν]ωι χρηματω[ν
                και ταλλ οικ]ειω[ς συ
                ναγωνιζο]μενους [ει γαρ   §20
                τις ερο]ιτο φιλι[π
    20   πον ειπε] μοι ποτ[ερα
                αν βου]λοιτο τουτ[ους τους
                στρατι]ωτας ους δι[οπει
                θης ν]υν εχει τ[ους ο
                                ·   ·   ·

4 οἶμαι **4327** FAY: οἴομαι S.
7–8 ου [μα δι]α **4327**, so S eras.: μὰ Δἰ **4326** SFAY.

9 τῇ πόλει δύναμιν **4327** SF: δύναμιν τῇ πόλει **4326** AY.
10–11 παρασκευάζειν **4326 4327** SFAY: κατασκευάζειν F before correction.
12 διαλῦσαι **4327** S: διαλύειν **4326** FAY.
20–21 Spacing seems to favour πότερα ἂν S F¹ γρ. Y rec. against πότερα F corr. AY¹.
21 βουλοιτο **4327**: βούλοιο **4326** SFAY.
τούτους τοὺς SFAY. To judge from the space, **4327** may have omitted τους.
23 νῦν **4326 4327** SFAY: om. Y¹.

                                          J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

4328. DEMOSTHENES VIII 33–36

13 1B.125/D(a)   10.5 × 12.5 cm   Second century

The upper part of two columns, with 3.5 cm of the top margin and 0.7 cm of the left-hand margin extant. The intercolumnium is 2.0 cm. Line-length varies from 16 to 22 letters, with a mean of 17–18. Fifteen or sixteen lines have therefore been lost from the bottom of col. i, giving an original column-height of 30–31 lines. The back is blank.

The writing is a round book-hand of medium size, of the same type as Turner, *GMAW* no. 24 (XVIII **2161**) and assignable to the same date; φ protrudes well above and below the line, α, δ and λ slightly above, and ρ and τ slightly below; α is made with a rounded bowl and ε and c are almost completely circular.

Punctuation consists of the high stop and paragraphus (by the first hand), and at i 2 a space marks the end of a period. A rough breathing of Turner's form 1 (*GMAW*² p. 11) is marked at i 15, perhaps by a second hand. Elision is sometimes made, sometimes not, and never marked.

The papyrus offers two peculiar readings: ἐν ἐκείνοις at i 1 is a variant on the vulgate's ἐν ἐκείναις, and at i 10 καὶ is omitted before τοῖς γιγνομένοις. At i 6 it sides with FAY against a careless omission of S; at ii 8 with SF against AY.

                    col. i
                αντι]παλους εν εκεινοις
                εσθ ο αγω]ν νυν δε δημα   §34
                γωγουντ]ες υμας και χα
                ριζομενοι καθ υπερβο
    5   λην ο[υ]τω διατεθεικασιν·
                ωστε [ε]ν μεν ταις εκκλη
                σιαις [τρ]υφαιν και κολακευ
                εσθαι παντ[α] προς ηδο
                νην ακουο[ν]τας εν δε
    10   τοις πραγμ[α]σι τοις γι
                γνομενοις περι των

ϵϲ]χατων [η]δη κινδυ
ν]ϵυϵιν· φϵρϵ γαρ προϲ
διοϲ ϵι] λογον υμαϲ απα[ι
15   τηϲϵιαν] οι ϵ[λ]ληνϵϲ ω͞[ν

. . .

col. ii

νομϵ[νου τανθρωπου
και νοϲ[ωι και χϵιμω
ν]ι κ[αι πολϵμοιϲ αποληφ
θ[ϵντοϲ ωϲτϵ μη αν δυ
5   ν[αϲθαι ϵπανϵλθϵιν οι
κ[αδϵ ουτϵ την ϵυβοιαν
ηλ[ϵυθϵρωϲατϵ ουτϵ   §36
των υμ[ϵτϵρων αυτων
ουδϵν ϵ[κομιϲαϲθϵ αλ
10   λ ϵ[κ]ϵιν[οϲ μϵν υμων

. . .

Col. i

1 ϵν ϵκϵινοιϲ **4328**: ἐν ἐκϵίναιϲ FAY: ἐκϵῖνοϲ S.
2 Spacing favours ἐϲθ' ὁ ἀγών (SFAY): ἐϲθ' ἀγών Butcher.
5 διατϵθϵίκαϲιν **4328** SFAY: -τϵθήκαϲιν edd., in conformity with the practice of fourth century inscriptions
(MacDowell on *Meid.* 173).
6 μέν **4328** FAY: om. S.
7 τρ]υφαιν, the analogical misspelling of the infinitive.
10 τοιϲ **4328**: καὶ τοῖϲ SFAY.

Col. ii

4–6 Traces only of first letters.
8 ὑμϵτέρων **4328** SF: ἡμϵτέρων AY.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

4329. DEMOSTHENES VIII 53, 57

2 1B.105/G(a)   Frr. 1 + 2 9 × 5 cm   Late second century

Three tattered fragments of two adjacent columns; the back is blank. The lines
had an average of 24 letters; the columns, of 35 lines, measured about 5.5 × 20 cm and
were 1.5 cm apart. If it contained only this speech, the roll would not have extended
much beyond 6 feet (1.8 m).

The hand is a small specimen of the Severe Style; the broad letters are not conspicu-
ously broad, and ω is well formed. The scribe uses iota adscript, the high point, and
the *paragraphos*; space-filler at the end of i 4.

The text is devoid of interest. Two lines of it (ii 1–2) are represented also in **4330**.

Frr. 1 + 2

col. i

                το]υτοιϲ   (§53)
δ αι χαριτϵϲ και ο μιϲθοϲ ο του]των·
ϵγω δ οιομαι την μϵν ϵιρηνη]ν
αγϵιν ουχ υμαϲ δϵιν πϵιθ]ϵ[ι]ν οι >

. . . . .

col. ii

ϲθα[ι παρ υμ]ων αν [τι λ]υπ[ηϲ   (§57)
θϵ τωι πο[λϵμω]ι ϵιϲ τ[ο]υϲ [υ]πϵρ υ[μων
λϵγονταϲ τα βϵλτιϲτα τ[ρϵψαι
βουλονται [ι]να τ[ο]υτ[ουϲ κρινητϵ
5   μη φιλιππον αμυνηϲ[θϵ και κα
τηγορωϲιν αυτοι· μη [δικην δω
ϲιν ων π[οιο]υϲι νυν [τουτ αυτοιϲ
δυνα[τ]α[ι] το λϵγϵιν ωϲ [αρα βου
[λονται πολϵμον τινϵϲ ποιηϲαι]
10 fr. 3 παρ υ]μϵιν και [πϵρι τουτου η δια
δικα]ϲια αυτ[η

. . .

Col. i

1 stands a little below ii 1, which was probably the first of the column; a complete line may be lost above.

Col. ii

1 As there is just enough undamaged papyrus above the first letter to have preserved a trace of anything
written there, this line may well have begun the column.
2 θ is apparently written on α or λ. Either the scribe was slipping into λυπῆϲαι, or he was following the
lineation of his exemplar and skipped to the beginning of line 3.
5–6 κα]τηγορωϲιν αυτοι· μη [δικην (δϵ) δω]ϲιν **4329**: κατηγορῶϲιν αὐτοί, μὴ δίκην δῶϲιν S, recte:
κατηγορῶϲι μὲν αὐτοί, μὴ δίκην δὲ δῶϲιν FY: κατηγορῶϲι μέν, αὐτοὶ δὲ μὴ δίκην δώϲωϲιν A. The letter after

αυτοι looks more like μ than δ, but in any case the high point is decisive. As the μ comes under the υ of the
line above, there is room for δέ, but the absence of μέν speaks against it.

   10–11 καὶ περὶ τούτου ἡ διαδικασία αὕτη ἐστίν del. Benseler.

<div align="right">M. D. REEVE</div>

4330. DEMOSTHENES VIII 54–7, 59–61

21 3B.25/D(1–2)a   11 × 13.3 cm   Second century

A fragment from the middle of two columns in a small, rounded, fluent hand with
occasional serifs, probably to be assigned to the second century. The lines had an
average of 21 letters; the columns, of about 56 lines, measured about 5 × 25 cm and
were 2 cm apart. The whole speech would have occupied rather over 4 feet (1.2 m).
The speech is written across the fibres. On the front upside down in relation to the
back, are remains of six lines of handsome cursive.

The scribe marks elision, writes iota adscript even when he should not, uses the
paragraphos, and leaves a space at the end of a sentence; one initial υ is given a breathing
and one ἤ an accent.

Two lines of the text (i 29–30) are represented also in **4329**; ii 19 ff. in PBerol.
21284 (see p. 72) (ivBC).

<div align="center">col. i</div>

```
          .   .   .   .   .
              ] . . η [ . ] ετ [
        τα χρηματα τ]ωι φυλακην ει
        πειν δι ης] cωθηcεται κω
        λυειν ουχι τωι] του cυμφε
  5     ροντος αφεc]ταναι καιτοι ε        §55
        γωγ α]γανακτωι και αυτο
        τουτο] ω ανδρεc αθηναιοι
        ει τα με]ν χρηματα λυπει
        τιναc υ]μων ει διαρπαcθη
  10    cεται α κ]α[ι] φυλαττειν και κο
        λαζειν το]υc αδικουνταc εφ’
        υμιν εcτι]ν  την δ’ ελλαδα
        παcαν εφ]εξηc ουτωcι φι
        λιπποc αρ]παζων ου λυπει
```

```
  15    και ταυτ εφ] ημαc αρπαζων
        τι ποτ ουν] εcτιν το αιτιον        §56
        ω ανδρεc] αθηναιοι το τον
        μεν ουτω] φανερωc ⟨c⟩τρα
        τευοντ α]δικουντα πολειc
  20    καταλαμβανο]ντα μηδενα
        πωποτε τουτ]ων ε[ι]πειν
        ωc πολεμον ποιει του]c δε
        μη επιτρεπειν μη]δε προ
        ιεcθαι ταυτα cυμβου]λευον
  25    ταc τουτουc τον πολε]μον ποι
        ειν αιτιαcθαι εγ]ω διδαξω        §57
        οτι την οργην ην ει]κοc εcτι
        γενεcθαι παρ υμων αν] τι λυπη
        cθε τωι πολεμωι ειc του]c
  30                    ] ·
                .   .   .   .
```

<div align="center">col. ii</div>

```
          ] . . . [   ] . [ . ] . [    ]
        θιοιc εξ αρχ[η]c εωc εν α[υτηι
        τηι] χωραι το cτρατ[ε]υμα [πα
        ρην εχων ἤ και τοτε το[υc
  5     αμυνεcθα[ι] κελευοντα[c πο
        λεμον ποιει[ν] φηc[ομ]εν
        ουκουν υπολοιπον δου[λευ
        ε[ι]ν ου γαρ αλλο γ’ ουδεν εc[τι
        μεταξυ του μητ αμυνε[c
  10    θαι μητ’ αγειν ηcυχιαν εα[cθαι
        και μην ουχ ὑπερ των ἰc[ων        §60
        υμιν και τοιc αλλοιc εcθ’ [ο
        κινδυνοc ου γαρ ὑφ αυτω[ι
        την πολιν ποιηcαcθαι β[ου
```

15 λεται φιλιππος αλλ' ολω[c
    ανελειν οιδεν γαρ ακρ[ι
    βως οτι δουλευειν μεν [υ
    μεις ουτε θελησετε ο[υ
    τε αν εθελη .. επιςταςθ[ε
20 αρχειν γαρ ειωθατε πρ[α
    γματα δ' αυτ[ωι] παρασχει[ν
    α]ν καιρον λα[β]ητε πλειω
    τ]ων αλλων ανθρωπω[ν α
    πα]ντων δ[υν]ηςεςθ[ε ως   §61
25 ουν] ύπερ τω[ν
              ] .. [
            ·   ·   ·

Col. i
    1 Above this, stripped fibres; perhaps a trace of ink on the underlayer.
    1-2 διαρπαςθήςεται τὰ χρήματα SFAY.]ςθη[ς]ετ[αι could perhaps be read.
    13-14 ἐφεξῆς οὑτωсὶ Φίλιππος **4330** FAY: οὑτωсὶ Φίλιππος ἐφεξῆς S.
    15 ἡμᾶς **4330** SA: ὑμᾶς FY.
    21 πώποτε τούτων **4330** FAY: τούτων πώποτ' S.
    22 πόλεμον ποιεῖ **4330** (to judge from the space) S: ἀδικεῖ καὶ πόλεμον ποιεῖ FAY.
    23 ἐπιτρέπειν μηδέ om. A.
    25-6 ποιεῖν S: ποιήςειν FAY. In **4330** the space would allow either.

Col. ii
    2 ἕως ἐν **4330** SF: ἕως ἂν ἐν AY.
    4 Editors rightly print ἤ. Perhaps an ancient reader understood this as the emphatic interrogative ἦ καί. But there are other places where an η that we should certainly regard as disjunctive receives the circumflex; see the papyrus of *Ichneutae*, **1174** xii 5 (twice), 7.
    10 The traces at the end of the line are consistent with α but do not demand it; εαςθαι would not have made the line as much longer than the next as appears at first sight.
    12 ὑμῖν **4330** F: ἡμῖν S: ὑμῖν τε AY.
    19 ἐπίςταςθε **4330** FY: ἐπιςτήςεςθε PBerol. (]ςεςθε) SA. Before it the manuscripts agree on (ἐ)θελήςητε, for which there is not room in **4330**; presumably it had εθελητε.
    23-4 ἀνθρώπων ἁπάντων PBerol. ([αλλων ανθρωπων απαν]των) **4330** FAY: ἁπάντων ἀνθρώπων S.

                                        M. D. REEVE

4331. DEMOSTHENES VIII 68-69

93/Jan.1/A(4)   3.4 × 5.8 cm   First/second century

The middle part of ten lines from the head of a column; 0.6 cm of the upper margin is extant. The back is blank.

Written in a small, neat, informal rounded hand; strictly bilinear except for the

occasional projection of α above the line; ι ν π τ and υ have well-marked serifs; λ μ and π are sometimes ligatured to the following letter. Comparable hands are XV **1791** and II **221**, assigned to the first and second centuries respectively by Grenfell and Hunt; a date of i/ii AD here is supported by comparing the letter-forms of XXV **2435** (Turner, *GMAW* no. 57), datable after AD 18/19, and VI **854** (pl. I), datable after mid ii AD.

Line-length may be calculated at 27-32 letters. This gives a fairly wide column of c. 7 cm, which accords well with the hypomnema-like character of the hand. The scribe has made a correction in line 4, but too little survives to determine whether he also added any punctuation.

The papyrus agrees in 3 with FAY against S. In 4 the scribe first wrote πολλῷ (AY) and then corrected it to πολλῶν (SF).

        νευειν αλλ] ατολμο[c] ει κα[ι μαλακος εγω
        δε θραςυς] μεν και βδελ[υρος και αναιδης
        ουτ ειμι] μητε γενοιμην [ανδρειοτε
        ρον μεντ]οι πολλω`ν´ πανυ τω[ν ιταμως πο
5   λιτευομε]νων παρ υμειν [εμαυτον η
        γουμαι ο]ςτις με[ν γαρ ω ανδρες αθηναι   §69
        οι παριδ]ων α ςυγ[οιςει τηι πολει κρινει
        δημευε]ι διδως[ι κατηγορει ουδεμιαι
        ταυτ ανδ]ρεια[ι ποιει αλλ εχων ενεχυ
10   ρον της αυτ]ου c[ωτηριας το προς χαριν
                ·   ·   ·   ·

    3 μήτε **4331** FAY: οὔτε S.
    4 πολλω`ν´, nu added by the first hand: πολλῷ AY: πολλῶν SF.

                                        J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

4332. DEMOSTHENES VIII 75-76

37 4B.106/L(1)a   6 × 6.3 cm   Second/third century

The foot of a column, with the middle part of six lines, varying in length between 20 and 25 letters, and 3.3 cm of the lower margin. The back is blank.

The hand is a Severe Style of a familiar type (cf. XXIII **2371**, XLII **3005**); letters are slightly less than medium-sized, incline a little to the right, and are only occasionally ligatured to the following letter.

The papyrus seems to have a unique reading in 3, in a clause where S too gives evidence of divergent interpretations.

γειν π]αρα το[υ παριον]το[ς
εν κε]φαλ[αιω]ι δ [α λεγω φρ]α[σας   §76
καταβηναι α βου[λομ]αι χ[ρη
ματα] εισφερειν φημι δειν τ[ην
5 υπαρχο]υσαν δυναμιν συνε[
χειν επ]ανορθουντας ει τι [δο

2–3 δ' ἃ λέγω φράσας καταβῆναι βούλομαι FAY: δὲ S ἃ in ras. Y¹, καταβῆναι γὰρ S s.v. rec. Only **4332**
has α (ἃ) before βούλομαι, which may imply that it had a different reading in 2.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

4333. Demosthenes IX 31–34

84/94(b)   9.3 × 10 cm   Third century

Extensive remains of one column followed by the initial letters of a few lines from the next; the intercolumnium is 1.5 cm. Line-length averages 22 letters, so that 17 lines in total have been lost from the first column, giving an original column-height of 39 lines. The back is blank.

The hand is an upright angular capital of the type known as the Severe Style, roughly bilinear (ρ, τ, υ, φ extend below the line), with small well-made letters, well-spaced and with a very slight slant to the right. A comparable, but more quickly drawn, hand is Turner, *GMAW* no. 73.

The original scribe wrote the angular filler-marks, and punctuation by middle and high stop. Iota adscript is sometimes written; *scriptio plena* seems to be avoided.

The text has two errors of omission. The few other variants are of the usual eclectic type, with no discernible pattern to them. It is clear from col. i 20 ff. that the text belonged to the so-called longer redaction (see E. Drerup, *Philologus* Suppl. 7 (1899) 538), as did the other early MS of *In Phil.* III, PMich. inv. 918 (see p. 72), a fourth century parchment codex which also covers these sections of the speech.

col. i

και ελυμαινετο ηρ]ακλ[εις ο
σωι μαλλον δεινον] και οργη[ς
αξιον παν]τες αν εφασαν
ειναι αλλ ο]υχ υπερ φιλιππου

5 και ων εκε]ινος πραττει νυν
ουχ ουτως ε]χουσιν ου μονον
ουχ ελλ]ηνος οντος ουδε〉
προσηκοντ]ος ουδεν τοις
ελλησιν αλλ ο]υδε βαρβαρου
10 εντευθεν κα]λον ειπειν〉
αλλ ολεθρου μα]κεδονος οθεν
ουδ ανδραπο]δ[ο]ν σπουδαι
ον ουδεν ην κ]αιτοι τι της   §32
εσχατη[ς υβρε]ως απολειπει·
15 ου προς τω[ι πολ]εις ανηρη〉
κεναι τιθης[ι] μεν τα πυθια
τον κοινον των ελληνων
αγωνα· καν αυτος μη παρηι
τους δουλους αγωνοθετησον
20 τ]ας [πε]μπει· [κ]υρ[ιος δε] τυ
λων κ]αι των [επι τους ελ
ληνας παρο]δω[ν εστι και

col. ii

ρω[ν ου μονον δ εφ οις η ελλας   §34

7 lines lost

δα [ουκ αχαιων ναυπακτον
ομ[ωμοκεν αιτωλοις παρα
δω[σειν ουχι θηβαιων εχιν
5 ον α[φηιρηται και νυν επι
βυζ[αντιους πορευεται συμ
μα[χους οντας ουχ ημων   §35
εω [ταλλα αλλα χερρονησου

Col. i

2 μᾶλλον **4333** (to judge from the space) SFAY: μᾶλλον εἶναι PMich.

ὀργῆς **4333** PMich SY: πολλῆς ὀργῆς FA.

3 ἔφασαν **4333** PMich AY, F (η suprascript above the first a): ἔφησαν S.

9 βαρβάρου **4333** PMich SFAY: βαρβάρων Blass.

10 ἐντεῦθεν **4333** (to judge from the space): ἐντεῦθεν ὅθεν PMich SFAY. Simple haplography.

13 οὐδὲν ἦν **4333** (to judge from the space): οὐδὲν ἦν πρότερον πρίασθαι PMich SFAY (πρίασθαι om. S¹ add. S corr. del. Benseler).

15 πόλεις **4333** PMich SFY: πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας A.

16 τὰ om. PMich.

20 κύριος κτλ om. S¹ add. S rec. FAY. The sentence is present in **4333** and PMich.

Col. ii

2 Ναύπακτον **4333** (to judge from the space) S: Ναύπακτον ἀφελόμενος PMich FAY.

4–5 Ἐχῖνον PMich SFAY. If **4333** had the same, we have to assume the syllable-division εχιν]|ον, which seems most unlikely in a well-written manuscript. But no other reading is attested.

J. E. G. WHITEHORNE

IV. DOCUMENTS OF THE ROMAN AND BYZANTINE PERIODS

4334. Tax List

36 4B.94/L(1–2)a   12 × 22 cm   94/5

A list of twenty-four persons required to pay one artaba of grain apiece for cύνταξις. As a land tax, cύνταξις is generally a charge to support temples, see XLIV **3169** 32 n., and add doubtfully P. Oxy. Hels. 22. 23. A flat rate of one artaba apiece from persons subject to cύνταξις is not otherwise known, but the tax seems to have been handled very flexibly, cf. S. L. Wallace, *Taxation* 240. In this case, however, a payment to support the office of the τοπογραμματεύς, comparable to the Mendesian money tax ὑποκείμενα τοπογραμματέως, see P. Thmouis pp. 37–8, may be meant instead, cf. 6 n. Cύνταξις can also designate part of the wage of an employee, so, e.g., in XLIX **3514**, but the possibility that these sums were not to be collected from the persons named but paid to them is probably eliminated by the presence of women in lines 13, 18 and 20. A κατ' ἄνδρα list is in any case typical of taxation.

The document is drafted as a report but no addressee is named, so it presumably remained in the office of the village scribe who wrote it. The check strokes to the left of lines 7–30 were written with a thicker pen than the rest of the text. The back is blank and there are no sheet joins. The names Ἀτῦμις (22) and Ἀνετράϊς (28) are not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

παρὰ Διογένους κωμογραμματέως
Cενέπ(τα) καὶ ἄλλων κωμῶν κατ' ἄνδρ[α]
cυντάξεως τοῦ ιδ (ἔτους) Αὐτοκράτορο[ς]
Καίσαρος Δομιτιανοῦ Cεβαστοῦ Γερμα[νικοῦ].

5   ε[ἶ]ναι δέ:
τοπογρ(αμματ) C. [. . .]εως.
/Ἀνθέςτις Διο[ν]υςίου τοῦ Ἀνθ( ) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβη) α
/Ἀπολλῶς Ἀχιλλέως α
/Ἡρᾶς Πτολλίωνος α

10   /Ἀρςιῆςις Διοδώρου
/Cενθεὺς Πετρωνίο(υ) α
/Ἑρμοῦς ἀδελφὸς α
/Τκοῦχις Πτολεμαίο(υ) α
/Πτολεμαῖος Ἡρακλή(ου) α

15 /Ζωΐλος ἀδελφὸς α
/Χάρμος Ἰναροῦ α
/Ἀμόϊς Διογένους α
/Ἐσερέμφις Παποντ( ) α
/Ἀπολλῶς Νεχθενίβιο(ς) α
20 /Cινθοῶνις Φατρέως α
/Ἀντίοχος Ἀμμω(νίου?) α
/Ἀτῦμις Διογένους α
/Ἀτρῆς Φίλωνο(ς) τοῦ Ἑρμοῦτ(ος) α
/Χάρμος Διογ( ) (π)ρ(εσβυτέρου) α
25 /Ἀμόϊς Ἀπολλωνίο(υ) α
/Cαρᾶς Ἀπολλωνίο(υ) α
/Παποντῶς Ἁρπαήσιο(ς) α
/Ἀνετράϊς ἀδελ(φὸς) α
/Ἀμόϊς ἕτερος α
30 /Ἀρβῆκις Ἀπολλων[. . .] α
κδ

2 ϲενε)   7 αν⁰ ⁺ ⁻ and so throughout   11 πετρωνι⁰   12 αδελφ⁰   13 πτολεμαι⁰
14 ηρακλ^η   18 παπον⁰   19 νεχθενιβι⁰   21 αμμ⁰   23 φιλων⁰, ερμου^τ   24 διο^γ, ρ)
25, 26 απολλωνι⁰   27 αρπαηϲι⁰   28 ανετραϊϲ αδε^

'From Diogenes, village scribe of Senepta(?) and other villages. Detailed list of contributions for year 14 of Imperator Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus, to wit:

'For the district(?) of the topogrammateus of S ...
Anthestis son of Dionysius, grandson of Anth( ), wheat 1 artaba.
Apollos son of Achilleus, 1.
Heras son of Ptollion, 1.
10 Harsiesis son of Diodorus, 1.
Sentheus son of Petronius, 1.
His brother Hermus, 1.
Tkuchis daughter of Ptolemaeus, 1.
Ptolemaeus son of Heracles, 1.
15 His brother Zoilus, 1.
Charmus son of Inarus, 1.
Amois son of Diogenes, 1.

Eseremphis daughter of Papont( ), 1.
Apollos son of Nechthenibis, 1.
20 Sinthoonis daughter of Phatreus, 1.
Antiochus son of Ammo(nius?), 1.
Hatymis son of Diogenes, 1.
Hatres son of Philon, grandson of Hermus, 1.
Charmus son of Diog( ) the elder, 1.
25 Amois son of Apollonius, 1.
Saras son of Apollonius, 1.
Papontos son of Harpaesis, 1.
His brother Anetrais, 1.
Amois, another (brother), 1.
30 Harbekis son of Apollon..., 1.
24.'

2 Cενέπ(τα). The ink after Cεν- is very faded, so the reading is not altogether certain, but this is better than the alternatives Cένεως and Cεναώ. P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* does not report for any of these places a comogrammateia which included more than one village.

6 τοπογρ(αμματ) C.[. . .]εως. The first word must be τοπογραμματεύς or a related form, the second a name. They in some way describe the list which follows. 'The topogrammateus NN' would make sense in this context if he was responsible for the grain or was the person to whom it was to be paid, but the word order would be odd; one expects the name first. I should therefore prefer to interpret C.[. . .]εως as a village; Cε[ρύφ]εως, Cε[νύρ]εως and Cέ[νν]εως would do. The last is rather short, but not impossibly so, and was in the same Middle toparchy as Senepta, so it is more likely than the other villages to have shared a village scribe with that place. Cύνταξις is already known to have been collected at Sennis (XLIV **3169** ₃₃) and Seryphis (PSI VII 739. 12).

Τοπογραμματεῖς were usually at the same time κωμογραμματεῖς in the Oxyrhynchite nome, see P. Köln III 137. 22–23 n.; the known exceptions are P. Köln 137, IX **1188** and XX **2277**. In **1188** and **2277** the τοπογραμματεύς was responsible for a toparchy, in P. Köln 137 for a μερίς. It is not necessary to interpret **4334** as evidence for a topogrammateus at village level: the text can mean 'contributions from the village of S ... for the τοπογρ( )', cf. the note on πραι(ποϲίτου) κώμης in XLVIII **3425** 7–8. If cύνταξις in line 3 here means a temple contribution, the implication would be that the τοπογραμματεῖς were in some way responsible for it. As that is not otherwise attested, it may be better to take the contribution as support for the office of τοπογραμματεύς itself; ὑποκείμενα for that purpose are already known, see introd.

In any case this is the latest mention of the τοπογραμματεία in the Oxyrhynchite nome yet published. The next is P. Köln 137 of AD 88.

23 τοῦ was written over another word.

J. C. SHELTON

4335. RECEIPT FOR RENT

48 5B.29/D(4–6)a   11.5 × 16.5 cm   27 October 128

A citizen of Alexandria who had recently purchased a substantial amount of land near the Oxyrhynchite village of Paomis declares that he has received the full money

rent owed him by one of the tenants for property farmed in accord with a lease that had been drawn up with the previous owners. For an example of the opposite procedure following the sale of land already under lease, i.e., payment to the former owners, see P. Cair. Isid. 111.

The amount of land which the tenant and an associate had leased, $51\frac{3}{8}$ aruras, is one of the largest known from second century Egypt, being exceeded only by P. Iand. III 28 (c. 300 aruras) and P. Lond. III 1223 (p. 139; $111\frac{13}{16}$ aruras); it is the largest known from the Oxyrhynchite nome to date. The rent charged, 28 drachmas per arura plus an extra gift of 8 dr., falls within the attested range of the comparatively few leases to be paid exclusively in money. The following comparable figures from second century Oxyrhynchus are taken from D. Hennig, *Untersuchungen zur Bodenpacht* 255 ff.: 36 dr./ar. (III **499**: AD 121), 24 dr./ar. (IV **730**: 130), 22 dr./ar. (PSI IV 315: 137/8), 60 and 24 dr./ar. for two parcels (P. Fouad I 43: 190–91), 32 dr./ar. (VI **910**: 197), all for grass land; 44 and 12 dr./ar. for two parcels (P. Mert. I 17: 158), 140 dr./ar. (PSI I 1036: 192), in both cases for grain land; 1 dr. 2 ob./ar. for ὑπόλογος (X **1279**: 139).

The back is blank.

Διονύσιος Διογέν[ε]ους τ[ο]ῦ Θέω[νο]ς Εἰρηνοφυλάκιος
ὁ καὶ Ἀλθαιεὺς Ἀττίωι Ἀττίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀπολλωνίου
ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως χαίρειν. ἀπέχ[ω] παρὰ coῦ
τὸ ἐπιβάλλοῦ c[[υ]]`οι´ ἥμιcυ μέρος τοῦ τοῦ διελθόν–
5   τος δωδεκάτου ἔτους Ἀδριανοῦ Καίc[αρο]ς τοῦ κυρίου
ἀργυρικοῦ φόρου ὧν ἐγεώργηcας cὺν [Ἀπο]λλωνί[[ου]] `ῳ´
Ἐπαφροδίτου κατὰ μίcθωcιν πρότε[ρο]ν Διονυcίας
Ἡρακλείδου καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς π[ερὶ Πα]ῶμιν ἀ–
ρουρῶν πεντήκοντα καὶ τῆς πλείων ἐκ γεωμε–
10   τρίας εὑρεθείcης ἀρούρης μιᾶς τετάρτου ὀγδόου
ἀγοραcθειcῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ὁμοῦ ἑτέραις ἀρούραι[c] παρὰ
τῶν προγεγραμμένων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ κατὰ cὲ ἥμι–
cυ μέρος τῶν διὰ τῆς μιcθώcεως cπονδῆς ὀκτώ,
τοῦ δὲ ὅλου φόρου ὄντος ὡς τῆς ἀρούρης δραχμῶν
15   εἴκοcι ὀκτώ, καὶ οὐδέν c[ο]ι ἐγκαλῶ περὶ οὐδε[ν]ὸς ἀ–
πλῶς μέχρι τῆς ἐνεcτώcης ἡμέρας. κυρία ἡ ἰδιό–
γρ[α]φός μου τ[ο]ῦ Δ[ιο]νυcίου ἀποχή. ἔτους τρισκαιδε–
κάτου Αὐτοκράτορος Καίcαρος Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδρι̣α̣ν̣οῦ
Cεβαcτοῦ, Φαῶφι τριακάδι.

18 τραϊανου

'Dionysius son of Diogenes, grandson of Theon, of the Eirenophylacian tribe and Althaean deme, to Attius son of Attius also called Apollonius, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, greetings. I have received from you the half share which falls to you of the money rental of the past twelfth year of Hadrian Caesar the lord for the fifty aruras and the additional one and three-eighths aruras discovered by survey located near Paomis, which you farmed together with Apollonius son of Epaphroditus according to a lease, formerly belonging to Dionysia daughter of Heracleides and her father, and which were purchased by me together with other aruras from the aforewritten persons, and also your half share of the eight (drachmas) for a libation stipulated in the lease, the whole rental being twenty-eight drachmas per arura, and I make no complaint against you whatever for anything up to the present day. The receipt, written in my own hand by me Dionysius, is binding. Year thirteen of Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, Phaophi thirtieth.'

5 Year 12 Hadrian is 127/8.
9–10 καὶ τῆς πλείων ... ὀγδόου. Evidently the lease had been made out for fifty aruras ἢ ὅcαι ἐὰν ὦcιν ἐκ γεωμετρίας or a similar clause, cf. e.g. I **102** 11, and the survey revealed 1⅜ aruras above the stated fifty to have been sown, but a real parallel to this wording is unknown to me. Instead of πλείων the synonymous πλείωι may have been written.
13 cπονδῆς ὀκτώ. Possibly cπονδῆς ⟨δραχμῶν⟩ ὀκτώ should be printed; certainly it is to be understood that the amount was eight drachmas. Small additional money payments to the lessor are common in Oxyrhynchite leases, cf. J. Herrmann, *Bodenpacht* 116–7.

J. C. SHELTON

4336. RECEIPTS RELATING TO JULIUS THEON

34 4B.77/H(1–2)a+M(1–2)a   24 × 23 cm   circa 169–171

A collection of business papers chiefly of interest for the references to land belonging to Julius Theon, once archidicastes and hypomnematographus of Alexandria. Several Julii Theones held these and similarly exalted posts, see XLIV **3197** 1 n. Because of the date, this will be the Theon IV of P. Theones, who has appeared again since that publication in L **3588**. He was archidicastes in 161 (P. Theones 27). Our text adds the information that he later became a tax-exempt member of the Museum (38), the tenth known archidicastes to have received this honour, the others being nos. 6, 10, 12–13, 16–19 and 32 of the list by N. Lewis, "Literati in the Service of the Roman Emperors: Politics before Culture", *Festschrift Bluma Trell* 155–7. There is a presumption, but not certainty, that his appointment occurred in the time between the receipt in lines 22–29 and that in 37–46. The first is dated 19 August 169; the second is not dated but concerns wheat rental from the crop of Marcus Aurelius's tenth year, so it cannot have been issued before the harvest of c. April 170 and was probably made out within a few months of that time.

The following documents are preserved:

I (1–7): Acknowledgement by Petechon son of Harpaesis that he has received an additional loan of money from a person whose name is lost.

II (8–15): Receipt from Claudius Fuscus, administrator to Julius Theon, for land rent in money from a son of Petosiris. Date presumably AD 169, see 14–15 n.

III (16–21): Notice of credit of 5 art. 1 choen. wheat at the public granary, issued to two men following a transfer from a private deposit and probably dating from AD 169.

IV (22–36): Receipts from Claudius Fuscus issued to or through Petechon son of Harpaesis for various payments in wheat and money from 19 August 169 through a date in Thoth (29 August–27 September) 170. All payments are connected with the rental of land near Terythis.

V (37–46): Receipts from Plutarchus, administrator to Julius Theon, for land rent in kind from Nechthenibis son of Petosiris, dated to year 11 of Marcus Aurelius (170/171).

VI (57–60): Traces of a receipt(?) possibly referring to year 13 (172/3).

So far as one can see, then, the documents are arranged chronologically. Most were issued by administrators of the estate of Julius Theon, and as there are a number of different recipients one might suggest that the papyrus holds copies made for the estate itself. The hands, however, change with each document, so they were certainly not copied out by one scribe, as one might have in that case expected; and no connection between the estate and documents I and II is visible. The impression made is rather that of a collection of original papers preserved as they were written in one papyrus roll. Should that be so, there will have been a connection between the recipients that is no longer ascertainable: kinship, membership in the same πιττάκιον, or the like.

The back is blank. There is a sheet join with a 2 cm overlap 10 cm from the left edge.

<div style="text-align:center">Col. i</div>

```
          . . . . . . . . . ]ωνος ἀπ' 'Οξυρύγχων
          πόλεως Πετε]χὸν Ἁρπαῆςις μητρὸς
          . . . . . . . . . .]ἀπὸ Κερκεμόνηως κατα
          . . . . . . . . .]ν Δερύθεως χαίριν. ὁμω–
 5        λογῶ ἐςχηκέ]ναι παρὰ coῦ cεc χρῆcιν
          . . . . . . . . . .]. δικάου χιρογράφου καὶ
          . . . . . . . . .]. ον ἄλλας δραχμὸς εἴκοσι, [[(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) κ]] c.c
```

```
(m. 2)    Κλαύδιος Φοῦc]κος φροντιςτὴς Ἰουλ(ίου)
          Θέωνος γενο(μένου) ἀρ]χ(ιδικαςτοῦ) καὶ ὑπομνηματογρ(άφου)
```

```
 10       καὶ ὡς χρη(ματίζει)  . .].  Πετοςίριος γεωργ(ῷ) χ(αίρειν).
          ἀπέςχον παρὰ co]ῦ ἀφ' ὧ(ν) ὀφείλ(εις) φό(ρων) [ὧν γ]εωργ[γ](εῖc)
          c. 12 letters ].[                              μὴ]
          ἐλαττουμένο]υ τοῦ Θέω(νος) ἐν οἷς ἄλ(λοις) ὀφεί[λ(εις).
          (ἔτους) θ Αὐρηλίου 'Αν]τωνίνου Καίςαρος τοῦ κυρίου,
 15       (month, day)]
```

```
(m. 3)    διεςτάλ(ηςαν) (πυροῦ) γεν]ή(ματος) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) η (ἔτους?) Αὐρηλίου
          'Αντωνίνου Καί]ςαρος τοῦ κυρίου δι(ὰ) ςι(τολόγων) ἀπηλ(ιώτου)
                                                                    το(παρχίας)
```

```
          c. 12 letters  ]μοις μη(τρὸς) Τεθεῦτος Τερύ–
          θεως τόπ(ων) καὶ  .  ]. εὐς Πετοςίριος Cκὼ
 20       τό(πων) ἀρτάβαι πέ]ντε 'χοῖ(νιξ) μία', (γίν.) (ἀρτ.) ε (χοῖν.) α ἀπὸ
                                                                    θέμ(ατος)
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          [τοῦ δεῖνος ]
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<div style="text-align:center">Col. ii</div>

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(m. 4)    Κλαύδιος Φοῦςκος φροντιςτὴς Ἰουλ(ίου) Θέωνος γενο(μένου)
          ἀρχ(ιδικαςτοῦ) καὶ ὑπομνηματογρ(άφου) καὶ ὡς χρη(ματίζει)
                                                  Πετεχῶντι Ἁρ(παήςιος)
          γεωργ(ῷ) χαίρειν. παρεμετρήθην παρὰ coῦ ἀφ' ὧ(ν) ὀφείλ(εις)
 25       ἐκφο(ρίων) γενή(ματος) θ (ἔτους) ὑπὸ προςτ(  )  Τερ(ύθεως) (πυροῦ)
          μέτ(ρῳ) (ἡμιαρταβίῳ) π(αραλημπτικῷ) τῆς οὐςί(ας)
          (ἀρτάβαι) ἑβδομήκοντα τρεῖς τέταρτον χοίνεικας ἕξ,
          (γίν.) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτ.) ογ (τέταρτον) χ(οίν.) ϛ, μὴ ἐλαττουμένου τοῦ
                                                  Θέω(νος) ἐν οἷς ἄλ(λοις)
          ὀφείλ(εις). (ἔτους) θ Αὐρηλίου 'Αντωνίνου Καίςαρος τοῦ κυρίου,
          Μεςορὴ κϛ. φορέτρου (πυροῦ) (δραχμὰς) ὀκτώ, (γίν.) (δρ.) η.
 30       ι (ἔτους) Φαμ(ενὼθ) γ⁻, φό(ρου) κλ(ηρονόμων?) Cύρου 'ι (ἔτους)' διὰ
                                                  τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πετεχῶντος
          (δρ.) ἑκατὸν ἑξήκοντα, (γίν.) (δρ.) ρξ. ἄλ(λας) ὁμοίως (δρ.) εἴκος[ι].
          (γίν.) (δρ.) κ, (γίν.) ἐ(πὶ τὸ αὐτὸ) (δρ.) ρπ, μὴ ἐλαττουμένου τοῦ
                                                  Θέω(νος) ἐν οἷς
          ἄλ(λοις) ὀφεί]λ(εις). καὶ τῇ κγ⁻ τοῦ 'Επεὶφ μηνὸς ἄλ(λας) ὁμ(οίως)
                                                  γενή(ματος)
```

ι (ἔτους) (δρ.)] ὀγδοήκοντα μίαν [ὀ]β(ολοὺς) ἕξ, (γίν.) (δρ.) πα ὀβ(ολοὶ)

ς. καὶ Θῶὼ(θ) [

35 ια] (ἔτους) φορέτρου κτή(ματος) Αχ( ) ὀβ(ολοὺς) ς (ἡμιωβέλιον),

  (γίν.) ὀβ(ολοὶ) ς (ἡμιωβ.?). [. ἄλ(λας) (δρ.)] . . . . ὀβ(ολοὺς) [ι,

(γίν.) (δρ.)] . ὀβ(ολοὶ) ι.

(m. 5) Πλούταρχος φροντιστὴς Ἰουλ(ίου) Θέωνος γενο(μένου) ἀρχιδ(ικαστοῦ)

καὶ ὑπομ(νηματογράφου) καὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ Μου(σείῳ) ἀτελ(ῶν) καὶ ὡς

        χρη(ματίζει)

  Νεχθενίβι Πετοσί(ριος) γεω(ργῷ) χαίρειν. παρέλαβ(ον)

40 παρὰ σοῦ εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰουλ(ίου) λόγον ἀφ᾽ ὧ(ν) ὀφείλ(εις)

ἐκφορίω(ν) τοῦ δεκάτου ἔτους Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου

Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου πυροῦ γενή(ματος) τοῦ α(ὐτοῦ) δεκάτου ἔτους

μέτρῳ (ἡμιαρταβίῳ) παραλη(μπτικῷ) ἀρτάβας ἑκατὸν τεσσερά-

κοντα δύο τέταρτ(ον) χοί(νικας) ὀκτώ, (γίν.) (πυροῦ) (ἀρτ.) ρμβ

         (τέταρτον) χ(οίν.) η,

45 μὴ ἐλαττουμένου τοῦ Ἰουλίου Θέωνος περὶ ὧν

  ἄλλων ὀφείλεις αὐτῷ.

     Col. iii

(m. 6) Πλού[τα]ρ[χος

 .[

 . . . . [καὶ

50 ὡς χρη(ματίζει) δι . . [

 Ἁρπαήσιο(ς) γεωργ(ῷ) χ[αίρειν. ἀπέσχον παρὰ

 σοῦ τὸν φόρον ὧν [

 τοῦ ἐνεστῶτ(ος) ἔτους ι[α

 εἴκοσι, μενούσῃ[ς

55 (ἔτους) ια Αὐρηλίου Ἀν[τωνίνου Καίσαρος

 τοῦ κυρίου, . [

   ιγς [

   ὁμ(οίως) . [

   ἀρτ(άβ)[

60   . . [

   . . . . .

2 l. Πετε]χὼν Ἁρπαήσιος 3 l. Κερκεμούνεως 4 l. Τερύθεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ 5. l.
εἰς 6 l. δικαίῳ χειρογράφου 7 l. δραχμάς 8 ιου^λ 9 αχ^χ, ὑπομνηματογρ^ρ
10 γεωρ^γ χς 11 αφ^ωοφει^λφ° 13 θε^ω, α^λ 16 γεν]η̄, διελ^[θ]ης 17 ξ ς᾽απη^λτο)
18 μ^η 20 χ^οι, /⁻, χ^ς, θεμς 22 ιου^λ, γενο̄ 23 αρ^χ, ὑπομνηματογρς, χρη̄, αρ 24 γεωρ^ρ,
  25 εκφ^θγενη̄θ^λ, προς⁻τερ +με^πτ⁻⁻ πς, ουςις 26 ⁻, l. χοίνικας 27 /+⁻, δχ^ς,
αφ^ωοφει^λ
θε^ω, α^λ 28 οφει^λ,∠θ 29 +ς, /ς 30 ι᾽φα^μ, φ° κ^λ, ι᾽ 31 ς, /ς, α^λ, ς 32 /ςκ/ςε̄),
θε^ω
33 α^λ ϐ γενη- and similarly throughout

Col. i (1–7) 'To … son of …on from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, Petechon son of Harpaesis, mother … from Cercemunis (now living in ?) Terythis, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received on loan from you (additionally to the sum I borrowed) by note of hand … another twenty drachmas, total dr. 20, …'

(8–15) 'Claudius Fuscus, administrator to Julius Theon, former archidicastes and hypomnematographus, and however he is styled, to … son of Petosiris, tenant, greetings. I have received from you, out of the rents you owe for (the land) which you farm, … without prejudice to Theon in respect of whatever else you owe. Year … of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, (month, day).'

(16–21) 'Transferred, in wheat from the crop of the past 8th (?) year of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, through the sitologi of the eastern toparchy, to … child of …, mother Tetheus, area of Terythis, and … eus child of Petosiris, area of Sco, five artabas and one choenix, total art. 5, choen. 1, from the deposit of …'

Col. ii (22–36) 'Claudius Fuscus, administrator to Julius Theon, former archidicastes and hypomnematographus and however he is styled, to Petechon son of Harpaesis, tenant, greetings. I have had measured out to me by you from the rents which you owe, out of the harvest of year 9, under the foreman(ship?) for Terythis, seventy-three and one-quarter artabas, six choenices, of wheat by the half-artaba receiving measure of the estate, total wheat art. $73\frac{1}{4}$, choen. 6, without prejudice to Theon in respect of whatever else you owe. Year 9 of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, Mesore 26. For wheat transport eight dr., total dr. 8. Year 10, Phamenoth 3, for rent for year 10 from the heirs of Syrus, through the same Petechon, one hundred and sixty drachmas, total dr. 160. Likewise another twenty dr., total dr. 20, sum total dr. 180, without prejudice to Theon in respect of whatever else you owe. And on the 23rd of the month of Epeiph, likewise for the harvest of year 10, another eighty-one dr., six obols, total dr. 81, ob. 6. And on Thoth nth of year 11, transport fee for the parcel of Ach(?), $6\frac{1}{2}$ obols, total ob. $6\frac{1}{2}$. On the nth another n dr., 10 ob., total dr. n, ob. 10.'

(37–46) Plutarchus, administrator to Julius Theon, former archidicastes and hypomnematographus, one of the tax-exempt in the Museum, and however he is styled, to Nechthenibis son of Petosiris, tenant, greetings. I have received from you for the account of the same Julius, from the rents which you owe for the tenth year of Aurelius Antoninus Casesar the lord, by the half-artaba receiving measure, one hundred and forty-two and one quarter artabas, eight choenices, of wheat from the harvest of the same tenth year, total art. $142\frac{1}{4}$, choen. 8, without prejudice to Julius Theon in respect of whatever else you owe him.'

2 Πετε]χόν (= -χών). The same tenant is mentioned in lines 23, 30 and perhaps 50–51, if the restoration is correct.

2–3 κατα[[γινόμενος ἐ]ν would fill the available space and gives an acceptable meaning, but it requires correcting the genitive to the dative, so the solution may lie elsewhere. Possibilities other than καταγινόμενος include καταμένων and καταμήνιος.

cec for εἰς is striking. It should perhaps be explained as a superfluous sigma followed by ἐc = εἰς, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 125, 258. Something similar may recur at the end of 7.

6 [χωρὶς ὧν ὀφείλω co]ι would give the expected sense, but the trace before δικάον is not iota. Perhaps co]υ for coι, but the phrase would still be long for the space.

If καί is to be read at the end of the line it will presumably have been followed by another way of borrowing money, e.g. [διὰ χειρός. To judge from the list of references by E. Christiansen, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 298 n. 161, this text is much too early for καὶ[νοῦ νομίσματος; a misspelling of κεφαλαίου cannot be ruled out.

7].ον. One expects the size of the previous loan, but the trace before omicron does not look like iota, rho, or tau, so the word is probably not τριῶν, τεσσάρων, ἑκατόν, or one of the hundreds or thousands. There is no palaeographic objection to δραχ]μῶν without a number.

The correction at the end of the line is puzzling. The first sigma was written before [[(γίν.) (δρ.) κ]] and the rest over it, but I suppose the writing all belongs together. Since there is no place before this point where the term of the loan could have been mentioned, the traces may be intended for εἰς, with e.g. μῆνας ποσούς in a lost line below. Cf. then cec for εἰς in 5, but ε is hard to read here.

10 The name before Πετοσίριος may be Νε]χ(θενιβι), cf. 39.

11–12 After φό(ρων) one expects something along the lines of ὧν γεωργεῖς τοῦ Θέωνος ἐδαφῶν περὶ κώμην such and such ἀργυρίου δραχμάς so many; cf. e.g. XIV **1646** and **1719**, XLII **3051** and 47 ff. below.

14–15 Year 9 of Marcus Aurelius seems to be the earliest possible date of the receipt, because Lucius Verus would have been named as co-emperor before his death early in 169. Year 10 or later can be restored only if this text was written after 22–29, but so far as determinable there is no other such chronological irregularity in this papyrus.

16–21 These lines have been restored to follow the pattern of XXXVIII **2871** and XXXI **2591**. The grain concerned was credited to the persons named in 18–19; one of these was a child of Petosiris (19), possibly therefore a sibling of Nechthenibis who appears in 30 and perhaps 10. The payer's name has been lost in 21. There would be room for Ἰουλ(ίου) Θέωνος, but not for any of his titles.

16 Year 8 (of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus) was 167/8.

25 Expand presumably ὑπὸ προσ(τάτην) or προσ(τασίαν). I have not found the phrase in another text, but a προστάτης of the Theons' estate at Terythis is also mentioned in P. Theones 2.2.

π(αραλημπτικῷ). Cf. 43 παραλη(μπτικῷ).

30 κλ(ηρονόμων?). One might also think of κλ(ήρου) or the like, comparing the κτῆμα in 35, but διά later in this line suggests that these words signify a juristic person using Petechon as an agent.

50 δι.[. Perhaps the administrator Plutarchus himself uses an intermediary here. Or write Δι.[, the beginning of a name.

54 Perhaps μενούςη[ς κυρίας τῆς μισθώσεως following P. Giss. 29. 18–20, but BGU IV 1151. 46 suggests μενούςη[ς τῷ Θέωνι τῆς ἐφόδου ἐν οἷς ἄλλοις ὀφείλεις, which agrees better with the μὴ ἐλαττουμένου clause in the other rent receipts.

57 ιγ⌐ might mean '13½' or '13th year'.

Further text ranging with the left edges of lines 47–56 would have left traces, but text ranging with lines 57–60 would have been lost.

J. C. SHELTON

4337. OFFER TO BUY CONFISCATED LAND

43 5B.70/B(1–2)a   10.5 × 9.5 cm   Second century (c. 178?)

An offer in the usual form to purchase some land near Pela that had been confiscated by the fiscus; for a bibliography on such sales see P. Petaus 13 introd. The chief

interest in this text lies in the identity of the previous owner of the property, whose full name appears here as Marcus Salvius Iustus (7). A Salvius Iustus was in office as ἀνταρχιερεύς on 21 May 164 (XLII **3026** i 17–19), and land near Sinary confiscated from a Salvius Iustus is known from XLIV **3170** 254. The rarity of the name makes it tempting to refer all three passages to the same individual. For the date see 1 n., and for a further conjecture about the reason for the confiscation see 7–8 n. The back is blank.

4337 is the text referred to in **3170** 254 n.

Θέων[ι   cτρα]τηγῷ
παρὰ Ἡρακλείας Θέωνος τοῦ Cαραπᾶτος μητρὸς Ἡρα-
κ]λείας ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως μετὰ κυρίου Ἱερα-
κίωνος τοῦ καὶ Φανίου Φανίου ἀπὸ τῆς αὐ-
5   τῆς πόλεως. βο[ύ]λομαι ὠνήςαςθαι ἐκ τοῦ δη-
μοςίου ἀπὸ τῶν εἰς πρᾶςιν ὑπερκειμένων πρό-
τερον Μάρκου Cαλουΐου Ἰούςτου, οὗ τὰ πράγματα
μετέπεςε εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον, περὶ κώμην Πέλα ἐκ
μὲν τοῦ Cεύθου κλ[ήρ]ου cειτικὰς μοναρτάβου
10   ἀ[ρ]ούρας δέκα ἐννέα καὶ ἰδιωτικὸν χῶμα ἐφ' ᾧ
ἄκα⟨ν⟩θαι τεccεράκον[τ]α μία, ὧν ἀρουρῶν γείτονες
νότου γύης, βορρᾶ βαςιλική, ἀπηλιώτου πλεύ-
ριcμα, λιβὸς ἡ ἐξῆ[c c]φραγίς, τῶν τῆς cυντει-
μήςεως ταλάντων τριῶν καὶ δραχμῶν
15   χειλ[ίων] καὶ τῶν ἑπομένων, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Κρό-
του [κλήρου] cειτικὰς μοναρτάβου ἀρούρας
τρεῖ[c], ὧν γείτονες νότου χῶμα, βορρᾶ βαςι-
λικ[ή

.   .   .   .   .   .

3 ἱερᾳ   7 ἰουςτου   9 l. cιτικάς   13–14 l. cυντιμήςεως   15 l. χιλίων   16 l. cιτικάς

'To Theon (?), strategus, from Heracleia, daughter of Theon and Heracleia, granddaughter of Sarapas, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, acting with her guardian Hieracion also called Phanias, son of Phanias, from the same city. I wish to purchase from the treasury, out of the properties which are designated for sale, once belonging to Marcus Salvius Iustus, whose property has fallen to the fiscus, in the neighbourhood of the village of Pela, from the allotment named after Seuthes, nineteen aruras of grain land taxed at one artaba each and a private embankment on which there are forty-one

acacia trees; the boundaries of these aruras are: on the south a dam, on the north crown land, on the east a dike(?), on the west next parcel, for the assessed value of three talents and one thousand drachmas plus the associated charges; and from the allotment named after Crotus, three aruras of grain land taxed at one artaba each, of which the boundaries are: on the south an embankment, on the north crown land ...'

1 Θέων[ι στρα]τηγῷ. This reading will suit the traces, and if it is right our text should be placed near Theon's attested term of office, (Feb.–May) 178 to 3 June 179, see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *The Strategi and Royal Scribes* (Pap. Flor. XV) 94. But the lists of strategi are not complete and a slightly longer name, such as Θέων[ᾶτι or Θέων[ίνῳ would also fit the space.

3–4 The κι of Ἱερακίωνος is oddly written and the end of line 3 is smeared, but no other known name will do.

7–8 οὗ τὰ πράγματα μετέπεσε. μεταπίπτω is used of private property transfers in PSI VIII 874. 12 and III 636 14 (in Stud. Pal. IV p. 144); it does not seem to appear in connection with state confiscations in other papyri published to date. XLIV **3170** 254, referring to other property, however, may have λ[όγ(ῳ?)] ἀναλη(πτῶν) (πρότερον) Σαλουίου Ἰού[στου, 'on account of confiscated property of Salvius Iustus'. It may be worth suggesting that Iustus, in office in 164, lost his property because of implication in the usurpation of Avidius Cassius in 175. This would suit the conjectured date of this papyrus, see 1 n.

9 μοναρτάβου. One artaba per arura was the usual tax rate on cleruchic and other private land, cf. XLIV **3170** 24 n.

11 ἄκανθαι is doubtless the word meant: acacia trees were numbered individually and commonly grew on embankments, cf. VI **909** 13 ff., VIII **1112**, but the nu before theta is difficult. Possibly ἄκαθαι was written in error; similar omissions of nu before a dental stop are cited by F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 116. On acacias see now also B. Kramer, *ZPE* 97 (1993) 131–144.

12–13 πλεύρισμα. Only πλευρισμός is attested, but if that had been written here the final sigma should be clearly visible, and an alternation in forms is plausible, cf. e.g. πλεονασμός and πλεόνασμα. πλευρισμός has occurred in II **373**, XXXIV **2723** 12, PSI VIII 897. 69, and BGU VI 1270. 14; none of these passages give any clue to the meaning, but the compound διαπλευρισμός is the sense of 'cross-dike' is found in P. Lille 1 recto 6 and verso 5. I therefore hesitantly follow F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* s.v. and M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 36 in translating πλευρισμός as 'dike', and treat πλεύρισμα as a by-form. The editor of XXXIV **2723** translates 'depression' without comment.

13–14 The assessed price of three talents, one thousand drachmas, amounts to one thousand drachmas per arura on nineteen aruras. Attractive as this seems, it may be misleading, as it leaves the dike with its trees out of account.

J. C. SHELTON

4338. SITOLOGUS RECEIPT

36 4B.95/K(1–3)a   9.5 × 8 cm   182/3

Receipt recording the payment of 12¼ artabas of wheat from one private account at the village of Syron to another one; for bibliography see XLIV **3179** introd.; add XLIX **3486** and **3496–7**. There is no change of hand for the signature of the sitologus and his subordinate, so this text is only a copy.

The writing runs across the fibres, although the back is blank. There is no sheet join to show which side is the recto of the original roll. This small rectangle was presumably cut from a roll of normal size, perhaps from a blank area in a used roll or document.

μεμέτρη(νται) εἰς τὸ δημό(σιον) (πυροῦ) γενήμα(τος) τοῦ
ἐνεστῶ(τος) κγ (ἔτους) Αὐρηλί[ου] Κομμόδου
Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου δι(ὰ) σιτο(λόγων) Λιβ(ὸς) Cύρων ἀπὸ θέμα(τος)
Ἁρμιυσίου Ἀνςῶτος Θέωνι τῷ καὶ Πτολε–
5   μαίῳ Ἀντιώχου ν(εωτέρου) θέμα(τος) ἀρτάβαι δεκα–
δύο τέταρτον, (γίνονται) (ἀρτ.) ιβ (τέταρτον). Δημήτριος ὁ καὶ
Νεῖλ(ος) cεcημίωμαι. Ἀcκληπιάδης cιτο(λόγος) cεcη–
μίωμαι ἀρτάβας δεκαδύο τέταρτον,
γί(νονται) (ἀρτ.) ιβ (τέταρτον).

3, 7 cιτο)   5 l. Ἀντιόχου   6, 9 d=(τέταρτον)   7, 7–8 l. cεcημείωμαι

'Paid into the public granary, in wheat of the crop of the present 23rd year of Aurelius Commodus Caesar the lord, through the sitologi of the village of Syron, Western toparchy, from the account of Harmiysis son of Ansos, to Theon alias Ptolemaeus, son of Antiochus the younger, for his private account, twelve and a quarter artabas, total art. 12¼. Signed by me, Demetrius alias Neilus. I, Asclepiades, sitologus, have signed for twelve and a quarter artabas, total art. 12¼.'

1–4 μεμέτρη(νται) ... ἀπὸ θέμα(τος). See XLIV **3181** 1–4 n.

3, 7 The form of the abbreviation cιτο) rather suggests a word with a pi, such as cιτο(πράκτωρ) or cιτο(παραλήμπτης), but in this context one expects sitologi, cf. introd. for parallels.

4 Ἀνςῶς is not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*.

J. C. SHELTON

4339. INVITATION TO A SARAPIS FEAST

29 4B.44/K(8)a   7 × 2.5 cm   Second/third century

An invitation in the customary form. The list of similar texts given by T. C. Skeat in *JEA* 61 (1975) 253 n. 2 has been brought up to date in the introduction to P. Köln VI 280. The chief discussions are P. Coll. Youtie I 51–2 introd., P. Yale I 85 introd., and H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* i 487 ff. (=*HThR* 41 (1948) 13 ff.).

The invitation below is for the ninth of a month which is as usual unnamed. Ludwig Koenen, pursuing a hint in P. Oslo III p. 247, has argued that Sarapis feasts which were not specifically held for some private reason (πρωτογενέσιον XXXVI **2491**, μαλλοκούρια XII **1484** (cf. XLIX **3463** 6 n.), SB XIV 11944) may be connected with celebrations of Isis and associated gods (*ZPE* 1 (1967) 121–6 and P. Köln I 57 introd.), and all the dates so far published can in fact be explained in this way. (The editor of LII **3693** denied this for the thirtieth in his text, but there were Sarapeia which fell on Pharmuthi 30, see R. Merkelbach, *Isisfeste in griechisch-römischer Zeit* 43.) The ninth of

Phamenoth would fit this pattern as well, as 5 March was the date of the *navigium Isidis*, see Merkelbach, op. cit. 39 ff., 57 ff. Still, it should not be overlooked that known Isis celebrations were so frequent that any number between 1 and 30 has a two to one chance of corresponding to one in some month or other, and possible use of an additional religious calendar increases the chances still further.

The invitation is completely preserved, but there was originally writing above it and there is also one letter in the left margin opposite line 3. The traces above are descenders which could have come from Cα]ρ[απήου and ὥ]ρ(ας), and the one in the left margin might be]ς or ὥ]ρ(ας). The little note may therefore have been written with more such texts on a sheet which was later cut apart. This seems plausible enough, but nothing in the editors' descriptions of other papyrus invitations suggests that the procedure is elsewhere attested, so **4339** may simply have been written on a bit of scrap papyrus.

> ἐρωτᾷ σε Ἀμμώνιος δει—
> πνῆσαι εἰς κλείνην τοῦ κυρίου
> Cαράπιδος ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ τοῦ
> Cαραπήου τῇ θ̄ ἀπὸ ὥρ(ας) θ.

1 l. κλίνην   4 l. Cαραπείου; ωρ in monogram

'Ammonius requests you to dine at the banquet of the lord Sarapis in the dining hall of the Serapeum on the 9th, starting at the 9th hour.'

3–4 οἴκῳ τοῦ Cαραπήου (=-πείου). Cf. XIV **1755** and P. Coll. Youtie I 52. 2, where see note and discussion pp. 319–320. Temples to Sarapis commonly had side rooms which one might imagine to have served for dining, but the only *triclinium* plainly identified as such in R. A. Wild, 'The known Isis–Sarapis sanctuaries of the Roman world', *ANRW* II 17. 4 1739–1851, is that of the Serapeum at Ostia, see ibid. p. 1803, fig. 30. A few οἴκοι are mentioned in L. Vidman, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae*, see references there p. 352.

J. C. SHELTON

4340. Two Letters to Didyme

26 3B.50/G(10–11)b   12 × 29 cm   Late third century

A letter to one Didyme from a man called probably Petosiris, see 1, 36 nn., immediately followed by another to the same person from Thaesis; for some other such double letters see XLIX **3503** introd. Thaesis calls Didyme her 'daughter' (15); that may or may not be meant literally. Whether Petosiris and Thaesis are related, e.g. man and wife, is not demonstrable. Both letters deal chiefly with financial affairs and are written in the same hand in very bad Greek. A reference to κύκλοι (of yarn?) in 4 does not help explain the term, see note.

Line 21 mentions wine bought at sixty-four drachmas per μετρητής. Comparable prices refer to κεράμια, but the two terms are considered synonymous, see U. Wilcken, *Gr. Ostr.* I 761; a modification offered in P. Köln V 220. 7 n. deals with the tone of the words, not their metrological identification. Assuming that this is in fact the case here, the price is well above the eleven drachmas charged per ceramion in VII **1055** (AD 267) but should be from a time earlier than 300/1, when three hundred drachmas is attested in CPR VI 12. The most recent relevant lists known to me are in H. J. Drexhage, 'Zur Preisentwicklung im römischen Ägypten von ca. 260 n. Chr. bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians', *MBAH* 6.2 (1987) 30–45, esp. 35–8, and R. S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation* 66. Despite the fact that prices can fluctuate considerably in a comparatively short time, cf. e.g. LIV **3773** introd. and lines 22–4 below, the differences in the amounts just cited are probably substantial enough to require a period of inflation to explain them.

The closest figure that I have found to the one here is twenty denarii, equal to eighty drachmas, in P. Lugd. Bat. XI 26. 16–17. That document is not dated, but the use of denarii probably implies AD 296 as a *terminus a quo*; cf. in general E. Christiansen, *ZPE* 54 (1984) 271 ff.

The writing runs along the fibres. There is no sheet join.

> Πετοςί⟨ρι⟩ος Διδύμῃ πολλὰ χέρειν.
> τὸ πορφύριον τὸ ἔπεμφες ἡμεῖν
> οὐ πεποίητε. πέμψον ἡμεῖν [. .] . . .—
> νον κύκλον δέςμας δέκα Δάφνῃ ὡς
> 5   τὸ τοῦ μαφορτίου σου χρῶμα {τοῦ}
> τὸ μαφόρτιον τὸ ἔχειν πώλη[ς]ον (δραχμῶν) μ . .
> ἐὰν δὲ μὴ λάβῃς τὴν τιμὴν μὴ
> πώλησον, ἀλλὰ φρόνδεισον τὰς
> δραχμὰς μ καὶ πέμψον ἡμεῖν
> 10 ἐν τάχει. ἐξέταςον περὶ τῆς ςω—
> τη⟨ρί⟩ας τοῦ υείοῦ Νειλοῦτος καὶ ἂν
> δεῖ γράψον ἡμεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. ἀπέ—
> τηςον Τεεὺς τὴν ⟦. .⟧ Ἡρακλείδης Cα—
> ράμμονος (δραχμὰς) μ ὑπὲρ φολέτρου.
>
> 15 Θαῆςις Διδύμῃ τῇ θυγατρεὶ πολλὰ
> χέρειν. παρέδωκα Ἡρακλείδης Cελ—
> μων καὶ Καπειδώλει οἴνου μετρη—
> τὰς ζϚ καὶ τὸ πρόλυπον κέρματος ἀπο—
> {πο}κατέςτεκα αὐτοῖς ςὺν τιμῇ

20   μετρητὰς ιηϛ ὡς τοῦ μετρητοῦ
       ἑνὸς (δραχμῶν) ξδ. ἔγραψές μοι δὲ ἡ γυνή
       cου ἐξ ξοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ πέπρα–
       κα τὸν οἶνον ἐκ διccοῦ ⟨οὗ⟩ ἠγόρα–
       κα καὶ cεcειμίωμε (δραχμὰς) . . ὁ Cόεις
25   ἐνοχλεῖ με περὶ τὴν ἀρτάβην
       τοῦ cίτου. κἂν νῦν πέμψον ἐπ’ ἐμ(ὲ)
       κόκομαν ἐλάου τῷ Ἡρακλείδῃ
       Cελμων καὶ κανίccκιν α. πολ–
       λά cυ ἀcπάζω καὶ τοὺc ὑμῶν
30   πάντας. Ἡcεῖc πολλά cυ ἀcπά–
       ⟨ζε⟩τε καὶ Θεονίλλα καὶ Νιλ[ο]ῦc
       Διδύμη. ὁ γαμβρὸc Μηνᾶτος οὐ–
       δέν μοι δέδωκε.
           ἐρρῶc(θαί cε) εὐχό(μεθα), . . [.] . .

    Back, downwards along the fibres:
35   π(αρὰ) Διδύμης   (vac.)   π(αρὰ) Θαῆcιc
                          καὶ Πετοcίρ⟨ι⟩οc

1 l. χαίρειν   2 2nd. τό=δ; l. ἔπεμπεc?, l. ἡμῖν and so throughout   3 l. πεποίηται   5 l.
μαφορτίου   6 l. ὃ ἔχειc   7 l. λάβῃc: c corr. from ν   8 l. φρόντιcον   11 l. υἱοῦ   12–13 l.
ἀπαίτηcον   13 l. Τεεῦc; [.]: a over υ; l. Ἡρακλείδου   13–14 l. Cαράμμωνοc   14 l. φορέτρου
15 l. θυγατρί   16 l. χαίρειν, Ἡρακλείδῃ   18 l. πρόλοιπον   18–19 l. ἀποκαθέcτηκα   20 l.
μετρητῶν   21 ξ̅ξ̅δ̅; l. ἔγραψεν   22 l. ἐκ cοῦ   23 οἶνον: ο corr. from ν   24. l. cεcημείωμαι
25 l. τῆc ἀρτάβηc   26 επε̅μ̅   27 l. ἐλάου   28 l. κανίκκιον   29 l. cε, ἀcπάζομαι; 1st
alpha of ἀcπάζω corr. from ο   30–31 l. cε ἀcπάζεται   31 l. Θεωνίλλα, Νειλοῦc   34 ερρωc̅θ̅,
ευχο̅μ̅   35 π̅ (bis)

'Petosiris to Didyme, many greetings. The purple which you were sending us has
not been done. Send to us for Daphne ten bundles of balls of ... yarn(?), about the
colour of your cloak. Sell the cloak you have for 40(+?) drachmas. If you don't get the
price, don't sell, but get hold of the 40 dr. and send them to us quickly. Find out whether
Nilous' son is well and write us about him if necessary. Collect 40 dr. as delivery charges
from Tëeus, the daughter of Heracleides the son of Sarammon.'

'Thaesis to her daughter Didyme, many greetings. I turned seven metretae of wine
over to Heracleides Selmon and Capitolis (or Capitolinus?) and paid them the rest of
the money together with the price for 18 metretae at 64 dr. per metretes. Your wife
(sic) wrote in your name, 'I sold the wine for twice what I had paid for it and have
signed for 15(?) dr.' Söis is bothering me about the artaba of grain. Send me straightaway

a jar of oil for Heracleides Selmon, also 1 basket. I greet you and all your family many
times. Eseis, Theonilla and Neilous Didyme greet you many times. Menas' son-in-law
has not given me anything. We pray for your health ...'

Back: 'From Didyme (sic) from Thaësis and Petosiris.'

1 Πετοcί⟨ρι⟩οc. The name Πετόcιοc has been read once before, doubtfully, in II 243 (=M. Chr. 182)
5, but line 36 below gives the genitive as πετοcίροc. The writer may well have intended the appropriate form
of Πετοcίριc in both places, but it is also thinkable that each line uses a different part of a double name.
2–3 The meaning is very uncertain. Perhaps read rather πέπομφαc and translate, 'the purple which you
have sent us has not been made (up)', i.e. if cloth, into clothes, if yarn, into cloth. If the imperfect is meant,
perhaps the sense is, 'the purple which you were to send to us has not arrived'. If so, lines 3–4 may imply
that the purple was dealt with in κύκλοι, and if that is so, it was presumably yarn rather than cloth or dye.
For τό as relative see F. T. Gignac, Grammar ii 179. It occurs again in line 6.
3–4 [.] . . . . νον κύκλον δέcμαc δέκα Δάφνη. It seems natural to suppose that this delivery was wanted as
a substitute for the purple just mentioned, but the traces before κύκλον are not ἀντ᾽ αὐτοῦ or the like. Despite
ἡμεῖν (3), δαφνη is grammatically simplest if taken as a name in the dative, 'send us for Daphne'. Grammar
aside, δάφνη as a colour term for dark green would also be attractive. If δαφνη is a proper name, the following
words, 'about the colour of your cloak', give the colour desired; if δάφνη itself is a colour, they define the
shade more closely.
   In κύκλον δέcμαc δέκα lies the quantity to be sent. The text as it stands could mean 'a κύκλος and ten
δέcμαι' or 'a κύκλος, that is, ten δέcμαι'; κύκλος would then be a unit of measure. This interpretation may
receive some support from P. Cair. Zen. IV 59776. 9–10, which mentions δέcμια ζ (ἥμιcυ), κύκλοι οε of wool,
a proportion of ten κύκλοι to the bundle. But Hagedorn has argued that in related contexts κύκλια refers to
the form of the substance, 'balls' of wool, 'spools' of thread or the like, P. Köln II 124 introd. The weight of
the κύκλια in P. Köln 124 (73 weigh only 4 lbs.) suggests yarn rather than finished cloth. He would apply
this also to the κύκλοι of the Zeno papyrus. That may also be true of P. Berl. Zill. 11. 19 and 22, and it is
tempting here as well. On that view κύκλον is an error for κύκλων, but this text is full of mistakes. The traces
before κύκλον are probably from a word modifying it; the end of the line looks like mu or lambda plus another
letter; λινον for λινῶν is attractive at first sight, but it is hard to imagine what might have filled the gap and
left the trace before that.
6 ἔχειν for ἔχειc. See F. T. Gignac, Grammar i 131–2. Cf. λαβην corrected to λάβηc in 7, Τεεῦc for Τεεῦν
in 13, though that may be case confusion without a phonological basis, ἔγραψεc for ἔγραψεν in 21, and περὶ
τὴν ἀρτάβην for τῆc ἀρτάβηc in 25.
   The obvious reading of the figure at the end of the line is μη, but μϛ is also thinkable, and that would
harmonize with μ in 9.
11–12 ἂν δεῖ. Cf. E. Mayser, Grammatik ii.1 p. 284, B. G. Mandilaras, The Verb 270 §601, but it is just
possible that we should write δέϊ and understand it as a phonetic writing of δέῃ.
14 It may be coincidence that 40 dr. appears again here, but perhaps this is to be the source of the
money if the cloak is not sold.
16–17 Ἡρακλείδηc (l. -η) Cελμων. Cελμων is not in F. Preisigke, Namenbuch, or D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon.
It distinguishes this man from Heracleides son of Sarammon in 13–14, but it is not clear whether it is a
patronymic or a second name. The same person recurs in 27–8.
16–21 Thaesis turns wine over to these men, yet buys wine from them too. Possibly the first lot was
only on consignment and went unsold; or it was unsatisfactory and returned for replacement, a possibility
commonly specified in wine sales in advance. There may be other explanations.
17 Καπειδώλει. In D. Foraboschi, Onomasticon we find a name Καπιτώλιc, deriving only from P. Athen.
65.2 ἀπελήλυ[θ]α παρὰ Καπιτόλειν, which has been corrected to Καπιτολείνου (BL VIII 390 from P. Turner
20.10 n.), and in F. Preisigke, Namenbuch there is Καπιτώλειοc, recorded only from P. Lond. II 188. 83 (p. 144)
Θεούδιοc Καπιτωλείου, but this should presumably be presented as θεοῦ Διὸc Καπιτωλ{ε}ίου, while in line
130 Θ[εων] Cαραπιδοc should appear as θ[εοῦ] Cαράπιδοc. The ends of both lines still present difficulties. Here
perhaps read Καπειδωλεί⟨νω⟩, a phonetic spelling of the common name Capitolinus, comparing the omission
of syllables in lines 11, 23, 26 and 31.

21–2 ἡ γυνή cου seems an unavoidable reading, though the letter is to a woman. The writer must be thinking of her husband.

24 The doubtful figure, which is not damaged but oddly written, could perhaps be ιϛ or κ or μ, 15, 20, 40, all less than the cost of a single μετρητής in line 21. Perhaps the sum is not related to the wine transaction; cεcημείωμαι often appears in orders to disburse money or goods.

27 κόκομαν ἐλάου. Cf. κούκκουμαν ἐλαίου in P. Giss. Univ. III 25. 8–9. On the *cucuma* see LIX **3998** 36 n. (pp. 149–50).

31–2 The nominatives may be further subjects of ἀcπάζεται or errors for the accusative. I have translated Νιλ[ο]ῦc Διδύμη as a double name, cf. e.g. R. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 21 (1941) 248, P. Petaus pp. 54 ff. and perhaps Ἡρακλείδης Cελμων above. Metronymics are also known, e.g. P. Heid. IV 321.6 n., but that would require correction to Διδύμης. There is no reason to think that καί has been lost after Νιλ[ο]ῦc.

34 εὐχό(μεθα) seems likelier than εὔχο(μαι). The next word seems not to be θύγατερ or even ἀδελφή, which is not expected after θυγατρεί in 15. The damage is severe and the writing rapid and clumsy.

35 By way of correction one could print ⟨ἀ⟩π(όδοc) Διδύμη{c}, 'deliver to Didyme', but it is clear that the writer simply wrote π(αρὰ) Διδύμης, 'from Didyme' by mistake.

J. C. SHELTON

4341. REPORT CONCERNING WORK ON A DYKE

40 5B.108/D(1–3)a   18 × 27.5 cm   24 July 319

A report similar to **4342**, XLIX **3474**, XII **1546** and SB XVI 12335, listing amounts of earth moved during one month's work on the irrigation system. The unit of measurement, the ναύβιον, represents nine cubic cubits, about 2.628 cubic metres, see CPR VI i p. 47. The report is addressed to the strategus by two persons whose titles are not given. Judging by **4342** and SB 12335, χωματεπιcτάται and/or λογογράφοι are probable; χωματεπιμεληταί and χωματεπείκται seem to have functioned at a higher level than these village officials and our text is probably in any case too late for the former, cf. P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Aegyptus* 44 (1964) 9–19, M. Peachin, *BASP* 19 (1982) 162–3. For bibliography see P. Heid. IV 320 introd.

4341 comes from a τόμοc cυγκολλήcιμοc, presumably part of the records of the strategus despite the rather careless drafting. A second report from the same date was pasted to the right of this. Traces of nineteen lines are preserved, but except for the clumsy subscription [Αὐρήλιο]c Cαρμάτης ἐπιδέδωκα they are not worth transcribing. The back contains a mutilated grain account.

ὑπατείας τῶν δεc]ποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνcταντίνου
Cεβαcτοῦ τὸ ε̄] καὶ Λικιννίου τοῦ ἐπι–
φανεcτάτου Καίcαρο]c τὸ ᾱ. Αὐρηλίῳ Εὐδαίμον[ι
c. 15 letters cτρα]τηγῷ Ὀξυρυγχίτου.
5   παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Ζ]ωΐλου Ὥρου καὶ Ψῦτος
c. 6 letters] ἀμφοτέρων ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Ἰcχυ–
c. 6 letters] ζ′ πάγου. λόγος πενθημέρω(ν)

τῶν δι' ἐ]μοῦ ἀπεργαcθέντων ναυβίων
ἐπὶ τοῦ|δε τοῦ μηνὸc Ἐπεὶφ εἰc τὸ ἐξῆc
10   δηλούμε]να χῶμα ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ{υ} ν(αύβια) λέ.
ἐπὶ χώματ]οc ἐκ νότου Cεφὼ ν(αύβια) τὰ προκ(είμενα),
τὰ καὶ] ἀπεργαcθέντα ὑ⟨πὸ⟩ τῶν ἀ⟨πὸ⟩ τῆc ἡμετέρας κώμ[ης
ὑ(πὲρ) κεφαλῆc] καὶ κωμητικῆc κτήcεωc.
τὰ καὶ οὕτωc] ἀπεργαcθέντα.

15   ἀπὸ] ἕωc ϛ   ν(αύβια) ϛ
         ἀπὸ ζ ἕωc [ια]   ν(αύβια) ϛ
         ἀπὸ ιβ ἕωc ιϛ]   ν(αύβια) ϛ
         ἀπὸ ιζ ἕωc κα]   ν(αύβια) ϛ
         ἀπὸ κβ] ἕωc κϛ   ν(αύβια) ϛ
20   ἀπὸ κζ] ἕωc λ   ν(αύβια) ε,
γίνοντ]αι τὰ προκ(είμενα).
ὑπατείαc τῆc πρ]οκιμένηc, Ἐπεὶφ λ′.

(m. 2)   Αὐρήλιο]ι Ζωΐλου καὶ Ψοῖc ἐπιδέδωκα–
         μεν. Αὐρ]ήλιος Ἀμμώνιος ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν
25   γράμματα μ]ὴ εἰδότων.

2 του corr. from Cεβ   4 οξυρυγ'χιτου   5]ωϊλου   6 μ in ἀμφοτέρων corr. from π; ιϲχυ
7 πενθημερῶ   8 l. δι' ἡμῶν   10 l. δηλούμενον; νϛ, and so throughout   11, 21 προ͞ϛ
22 l. προκειμένης   23 l. Ζωΐλος

'In the consulship of our masters Constantinus Augustus for the 5th time and Licinius, the most noble Caesar, for the 1st time. To Aurelius Eudaemon (alias Helladius?), strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from Aurelius Zoïlus son of Horus and Aurelius Psoes son of ..., both from the hamlet of Ischy ... of the 7th pagus. Account by five-day periods of the naubia dug under my (*sic*) supervision for the present month of Epeiph on the embankment specified below to the sum total of 35 naubia: on the embankment to the south of Sepho the aforesaid naubia, which were those dug by the men from our village in respect of capitation and village property, dug as follows:

From the (1st or 2nd) to the 6th	6 naubia
From the 7th to the 11th	6 naubia
From the 12th to the 16th	6 naubia
From the 17th to the 21st	6 naubia
From the 22nd to the 26th	6 naubia
From the 27th to the 30th	5 naubia.'

'Total the aforesaid.'

'In the aforesaid consulship, Epeiph 30th.'

'We, Aurelius Zöilus and Aurelius Psoes submitted (this report). I, Aurelius Ammonius, wrote on their behalf because they do not know letters.'

3–4 The strategus Eudaemon may be the untitled official in XLIV **3194**, of 29 April 323, and/or the Eudaemon alias Helladius of LX **4076** possibly of 320, see ibid. 4 n. A deputy strategus Herminus was acting in March 319, about four months before this text (LIV **3746**).

6–7 The ἐποίκιον is not listed in P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati*.

8 The damaged beginning of the line was not the expected τῶν δι' ἡμῶν, cf. **4342** i 5. Probably τῶν δι' ἐ]μοῦ was written by mistake.

10 Despite the false congruence a modifier of χῶμα is inescapable here. The parallels show that this should have been δηλούμενον: **4342** i 7, SB XVI 12335. 9.

11 Sepho, like the hamlet in 6, was in the 7th pagus, see Pruneti, op. cit. s.v.

13 For the restoration of ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς and discussion of the meaning see **4342** i 10 n., with ii 15–16, iii 5–6. Village land recurs in **4342** ii 15–16 and should be meant in iii 6; κωμητικῆς should probably be restored instead of ἰδιω]τικῆς in SB XVI 12335. 16. The individual receipts issued for naubia listed in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Penthemeros Certificates* 38–45 plus P. Mich. XV pp. 154–7 and P. Heid. IV p. 164 have nothing comparable.

15 ἀπὸ β] rather than ἀπὸ α would be required to give the regular five day period for six naubia in this text (16–19), but I find no obvious reason for not working on the 1st (=25 June). A very few texts of other types allow a weekly day of rest (at this time probably still Thursday, see LIV **3741** introd.), but that was plainly not the case here. Parallel texts leave no days out, so there is some chance that after all ἀπὸ α was written. In that case we should have, exceptionally, an accounting period of six days. It is noticeable that the product is only six naubia, as from the five day periods in 16–19, while the reduced accounting period of four days in 20 produces a reduced total of only five naubia, but no argument can be derived from this because there are similar variations in amount from regular five-day periods, see **4342** ii 19–20, iii 9–10.

23 The spelling Ψυτοέ for Ψοιτος in 5 suggests that we should write Ψοῖς and not Ψόις here.

J. C. SHELTON

4342. Report Concerning Work on Dykes

40 5B.94/F(4)a	29.5 × 12.5 cm	Fourth century

Three columns from a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος with reports comparable to **4341**, see introd. there. The addressee is unknown. **4341** and SB XVI 12335 were sent to the strategus. P. Laur. IV 167, which is likely to have been similar, was addressed to χωματεπείκται.

Col. i reports work done by residents of Cercemunis on a dyke named Διοίτου, which apparently ran near six hamlets. In col. i 11–16 it is stated that these dug in each case ten naubia; in i 18–20 the same amount of work is divided up into six five-day periods. If, as seems natural, these groupings correspond to one another, then work at Trigyu was done on Phamenoth 1–5 (25 or 26 Feb.–1 March), work at Olympiados North on Phamenoth 6–10 (2–6 March), and so on. This is a more complicated pattern of report than that used in the parallel documents. Whether it was also applied in cols. ii and iii is uncertain because of the textual damage there.

The reports are all signed by three or four officials. In the subscriptions they do

not state their posts, but at least in the first column they must be λογογράφοι and χωματεπιστάται (i 3–4), and there is a strong presumption that this is the case throughout. Despite the fact that the texts must concern a variety of villages and are all dated to the same day, Phamenoth 30 = 26 March, the last two names are invariably Aurelius Hatres and Aurelius Horus, but their subscriptions are each time in a different hand. I think it probable therefore that these two men were regional officials who used unnamed representatives to subscribe for them. The remaining subscribers, whose names change from report to report, will have been active at village level. SB XVI 12335.5 indicates that this is appropriate for χωματεπιστάται. If that is correct for our text too, then Hatres and Horus were the λογογράφοι and the other men χωματεπιστάται, but the names in i 1–3 are so damaged that I cannot confirm this, cf. notes there.

The writing runs along the fibres. The back contains a farm account, published below as **4343**.

Col. i

c. 9 letters] . ̣να .[.] . [. .] . [.] . Cαραπίω[νος c. 10 letters
c. 5 ἀπὸ κ]ώμης Ταλαὼ λογογράφων κ[αὶ . . . .] . . . [. .]υ
c. 9 letters] . ̣ιτος ἀμφοτέρων ἀπὸ ἐποικί[ο]υ Τριγύ[ο]υ
χωμ]ατεπιστατῶν πεδίων Κερκεμούνε[ω]ς αϚ π[άγου.
5 λόγος] πενθημέρων τῶν δι' ἡμῶν ἀπεργ[α]ς—
θέντ]ω[ν να]υβίων ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ μηνὸς Φαμενὼθ
εἰς τὸ ἑξῆς δ]ηλούμενον χῶμα, να(ύβια) [ξ]'
ἐπὶ χώμα]τος Διοίτου καλουμένου,
ἄπερ] ἀνεβλήθη διὰ τῶν ἐποικιω[τ]ῶν
10 ὑπὲρ κ]εφαλῆς (vac.) οὕτως:
ἐποικί]ου Τριγύου, Κορνηλιανοῦ, να(ύβια) [ι]
ἐπ]οικίου Ὀλυμπιάδος βορίνης να(ύβια) ι
το]ῦ αὐτοῦ ἐποικίου νοτίνης να(ύβια) ι
ἐποί]κιον Κελχουπετ, Ε[ὐ]λογίου Ματρ̣ίνου να(ύβια) ι
15 ἐπο]ικίου Ληνῶνος να(ύβια) ι
ἐ]ποικίου Πολέμου, Ἀχιλλέως Ἀσκληπιάδου να(ύβια) ι
τ]ὰ προκίμενα, τὰ καὶ ἀπεργασθέντα οὕτως:

ἀ]πὸ α ἕως ε ν(αύβια) ι	ἀπὸ ιϚ ἕως κ ν(αύβια) ι
ἀπὸ Ϛ ἕως ι ν(αύβια) ι	ἀπὸ κα ἕως κε ν(αύβια) ι
20 ἀπὸ] ια ἕως ιε ν(αύβια) ι	ἀπὸ κϚ ἕως λ ν(αύβια) ι.

ὑπ]ατείας τῆς προκ(ειμένης), Φαμενὼθ λ.

(m. 2) Αὐρήλιοι] Πααλλῶς καὶ Θῶνις ἐπιδεδώκαμεν. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἥρων ἔγραψα

23   ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γρ|άμμ(ατα) μὴ εἰδώτοις.

(m. 3)   Αὐρ]ήλιος Ἀτρῆς συνεπιδέδωκα.

(m. 4)   Αὐρ]ήλιος Ὧρος συνεπιδέδωκα.

Col. ii
Traces of the first letters of about ten lines. Then:

(m. 5)   .[c. 10 letters] .[

κ[αὶ ἐπὶ χώ]μ(ατος) ἐκ ν[ότου

κα[ὶ ἐ]πὶ χώμ(ατος) ἐκ βορ[ρᾶ

τὰ προκίμενα, τὰ καὶ ἀν[αβληθέντ]α

15   ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆ[ς κώμης ὑπὲρ κ]ωμη-

τικῆς κτήσεως καὶ κεφ[αλῆς

τὰ καὶ ἀπεργασθέντα (vac.) οὕτως:

ἀπὸ α ἕως ε ν(αύβια) μβ   ἀπὸ ις ἕως κ ν(αύβια) μβ

ἀπὸ ς ἕως ι ν(αύβια) μβ   ἀπὸ κα ἕως κε ν(αύβια) μα

20   ἀπὸ ια ἕως ιε ν(αύβια) μβ   ἀπὸ κς ἕως λ ν(αύβια) μα.

ὑπατείας τῆς προκ(ειμένης), Φαμενὼθ λ.

(m. 6)   Αὐρήλιος Σιλβανὸς ἐπιδέδωκα. Α[ὐ]ρήλιος

23   Ἑρμείας ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ (αὐτοῦ) γράμμ(ατα) μὴ εἰδότ(ος).

(m. 7)   Αὐρήλιος Ἀτρῆς συνεπιδέδωκα.

(m. 8)   Αὐρήλιος Ὧρος συνεπιδέδωκα.

Col. iii
Starts at about the level of col. i 13 and col. ii 12

(m. 9)   ...[. .]. [

καὶ ἐπὶ χώμ(ατος) ἐ[κ] βορρᾶ Ξενάρχο[υ] ν[(αύβια)

τὰ προκίμενα, ἅπερ ἀνεβλήθη οὕ[τως:

πολ(ιτ–) Διονύσιος Ἱερακίωνος ν(αύβια) .[

5   καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμ(ης) ὑ(πὲρ) κ[εφαλῆς

καὶ κτήσεως ν(αύβια) [λε,

τὰ προκίμενα, τὰ καὶ ἀπεργασθέντα οὕτω[ς:

ἀπὸ α ἕως ε ν(αύβια) ς   ἀπὸ ις ἕως κ ν(αύβια) ς

ἀπὸ ς ἕως ι ν(αύβια) ς   ἀπὸ κα ἕως κε ν(αύβια) ς

10   ἀπὸ ια ἕως ιε ν(αύβια) ς   ἀπὸ κς ἕως λ ν(αύβια) ε

ὑπατείας τῆς προκ(ειμένης), Φαμενὼθ [λ].

(m. 10)   Αὐρήλιος Παπνοῦτις ἐπιδέδωκα. Αὐρήλιο[ς

13   .]ων ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ γράμματα μὴ ε[ἰδότος.

(m. 11)   Αὐρήλιος Ἀτρῆς συνεπιδέδωκα.

(m. 12)   Αὐρήλιος Ὧρος συνεπιδέδ[ωκα.

Col. i
  7, 11–16 να/   17 l. προκείμενα   18–20 νϛ   19 ϛ corr. from ε   21 προ^κϛ
  22 αυρϛ   23 γραμμϛ; l. εἰδότων

Col. ii
  12, 13 χωμϛ   14 l. προκείμενα   18–20 νϛ   21 προ^κϛ   23 υπερ‵γραμμϛ, ειδοτϛ

Col. iii
  2 χωμϛ   3, 7 l. προκείμενα   4 πολ', Ἱερακιωνος, νϛ   5 κωμϋ   6–10 νϛ   11 προ^κϛ

Col. i '... from the village of Talao, writers of accounts, and ... and ..., both from
the hamlet of Trigyu, chomatepistatae for the fields of Cercemunis of the 1st pagus.
Account by five-day periods of the naubia dug through us in the present month of
Phamenoth on the embankment specified below to the sum total of 60 naubia: on the
embankment called Dioetu, which were thrown up by agency of the residents of the
hamlets in respect of capitation, as follows:
    Epoecium Trigyu, Cornelianus, 10 naubia.
    Epoecium Olympiados North, 10 naubia.
    The same epoecium, South, 10 naubia.
    Epoecium Celchupet(?), Eulogius son of Matrinus, 10 naubia.
    Epoecium Lenonos, 10 naubia.
    Epoecium Polemu, Achilles son of Asclepiades, 10 naubia.'
    'Total the aforesaid, dug as follows:

'From the 1st to the 5th, 10 naubia.	From the 16th to the 20th, 10 naubia.
From the 6th to the 10th, 10 naubia.	From the 21st to the 25th, 10 naubia.
From the 11th to the 15th, 10 naubia.	From the 26th to the 30th, 10 naubia.'

    'In the aforesaid consulship, Phamenoth 30th.'
(2nd hand) 'We, Aurelius Paallos and Aurelius Thonis, submitted (this report). I, Aurelius
Heron, wrote on their behalf because they do not know letters.'
(3rd hand) 'I, Aurelius Hatres, joined in submitting (this report).'
(4th hand) 'I, Aurelius Horus, joined in submitting (this report).'

    Col. ii '... and on the embankment to the south of ..., and on the embankment
to the north of ..., the aforesaid (number of naubia), which were thrown up by the

residents of the same village in respect of village property and capitation, which were dug as follows:

'From the 1st to the 5th, 42 naubia.   From the 16th to the 20th, 42 naubia.
From the 6th to the 10th, 42 naubia.   From the 21st to the 25th, 41 naubia.
From the 11th to the 15th, 42 naubia.   From the 26th to the 30th, 41 naubia.'
       'In the aforesaid consulship, Phamenoth 30th.'

(6th hand) 'I, Aurelius Silvanus, submitted (this report). I, Aurelius Hermias, wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters.'

(7th hand) 'I, Aurelius Hatres, joined in submitting (this report).'

(8th hand) 'I, Aurelius Horus, joined in submitting (this report).'

Col. iii '... and on the embankment to the north of Xenarchu ... naubia, total the aforesaid, which were thrown up as follows:

'Town residents: Dionysius son of Hieracion, to a total of ... naubia,

'And by the residents of the same village in respect of capitation and (village?) property, to a total of 35 naubia. Total the aforesaid, which were dug as follows:

'From the 1st to the 5th, 6 naubia.   From the 16th to the 20th, 6 naubia.
From the 6th to the 10th, 6 naubia.   From the 21st to the 25th, 6 naubia.
From the 11th to the 15th, 6 naubia.   From the 26th to the 30th, 5 naubia.'
       'In the aforesaid consulship, Phamenoth 30th.'

(10th hand) 'I, Aurelius Papnutis, submitted (this report). I, Aurelius ... on, wrote on his behalf because he does not know letters.'

(11th hand) 'I, Aurelius Hatres, joined in submitting (this report).'

(12th hand) 'I, Aurelius Horus, joined in submitting (this report).'

Col. i

1 It does not seem possible to read any of the names in lines 22–5 before *Cαραπίω[νοc.

2 *Ταλαώ.* See P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 193–4. It was in the Lower toparchy, i.e. the northern part of the nome, although the pair following were from the southern part of the nome, and so are most of the other places named.

2–3 If the argument in the introduction is correct, the names of the χωματεπιcτάται were Paallos and Thonis (22), but I cannot read them here if they were declined. If left undeclined, as often happens, *κ[αì Θῶνι]c Cύ[ρο]υ|[καì Πααλλῶc Ψ]όϊτοc* would be plausible. *καì Πααλλῶc* is a bit long, but a shorter spelling such as *Παλῶc* might have been used. The identification of these two as χωματεπιcτάται is not altogether certain and *κ[αì Ἀτρῆτο]c Cύ[ρο]υ|[καì Ὥρου Ψ]όϊτοc* would also fit the traces.

3 All the references to *Τριγύου, Τριγήου* or *Τρίγου* in Pruneti, op. cit., come from the sixth century. Its location in the southern part of the nome was known, see LV **3804** introd. p. 96, although it was associated there with the village of Iseum Panga, rather than with Cercemunis, as here.

4 χωμ]ατεπιcτατῶν. This is the third attestation of these officials, see M. Peachin, *BASP* 19 (1982) 162–3. The pagus of Cercemunis was not known before. Like all other known places in the 1st pagus, it had previously been in the Upper toparchy, see LV **3795** introd.

8 *Διοίτου* looks like a personal name, but it is not to be found in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, or W. Pape, G. E. Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen.*

10 ὑπὲρ κ]εφαλῆc. Cf. ii 15–16 ὑπὲρ κ]ωμητικῆc κτίcεωc καì κεφ[αλῆc, iii 5–6 ὑ(πὲρ) κ[εφαλῆc] καì κτίcεωc, **4341** 13 [ὑ(πὲρ) κεφαλῆc] καì κωμητικῆc κτίcεωc. The comparison of these passages leaves very little

doubt of the readings in spite of the dots. The κεφαλή must be connected with Diocletian's new system of tax assessment by *iugum* and *caput*, but it has not occurred before in connection with the dyke corvée, and is in any case one of the least understood aspects of the fourth century tax system, see R. S. Bagnall, *ZPE* 37 (1980) 185–95: he concludes that it is a measure of land and only connected with the person by abstruse calculation (194).

11, 14, 16 In these lines we have the names of persons after the names of the hamlets. Since hamlets could be privately owned and are often named after persons who are thought to have been former owners, it seems likely that here these are their owners or at least the major landowners in them.

11 *Κορνηλιανοῦ.* This man might be the prytanis of 294, who bore the title of διαcημότατοc, see XLVI **3297** 1 n.

12 *Ὀλυμπιάδοc.* Pruneti, op. cit. cites only XVI **2025** 18 from the sixth or seventh century. *Βορίνηc* here and *νοτίνηc* in the next line probably either refer to parts of Olympiados or distinguish two villages of that name. Alternatively, one might think of a northern or southern διῶρυξ (or other feminine noun) branching off from the Dioetu embankment at Olympiados, but specific canals are not named elsewhere in the text and I doubt whether the assumption of work not done on the embankment itself is compatible with line 8.

14 *Κελχουπετ* is unknown.

Ε[ὐ]λογίου Ματρίνου. A boat with a capacity of at least 830 artabas belonging to a Eulogius son of Matrinus is mentioned in XLII **3079** 8, assigned to the fourth century.

15 *Ληνῶνοc.* Since we have been led to expect locations in the first pagus, i.e. in the most southerly part of the nome, it is somewhat surprising that this hamlet belonged to the 4th pagus and before that to the Western toparchy, see Pruneti, op. cit. 96. Presumably it lay in the south-west.

16 *Πολέμου* is unknown, and hardly likely to be the same as *Πολέμωνοc.*

An Achilles son of Asclepiades described as a former prytanis in 345 occurs in P. Wisc. I 12.2. That is probably later than **4342**, but not too late for a possible identification.

Col. ii

12, 13 After ν[ότου and βορ[ρᾶ one expects the name of a village, cf. **4341** 11 and col. iii 2 below.

15–16 Cf. i 10 n.

Col. iii

2 *Ξενάρχο[υ].* This, like most of the places in **4342**, is known to have been in the 1st pagus, see Pruneti, op. cit. 125.

4 πολ(ιτ-). This denotes a metropolitan who held land in the village, cf. P. Cair. Isid. 9 introd. Dionysius son of Hieracion is not known, but a prytanis of 305 or 306 called Hieracion alias Dionysius, see XXXIII **2665** 3 and n., is quite likely to have been related.

5 Cf. i 10 n.

6 κτίcεωc. For κωμητικῆc κτίcεωc? Cf. **4341** 13 n.

13 The damaged name could be Ἡρ]ων as in i 22, but the hands are not the same.

J. C. SHELTON

4343. ESTATE ACCOUNT

40 5B.94/F(4)a   29.5 × 12.5 cm   Fourth century

An account of expenses on an estate, written on the back of **4342** and upside down in respect to that text. The heading in line 1, ἀναλώματοc ὁμοίωc, implies that a section concerning λῆμμα, income, was once written, but it is no longer preserved. All sums are expressed in terms of wheat. Some comparable papyri are listed in P. Mich. XI p. 63 n. 3.

The writing runs across the fibres of the verso of **4342**, which consists of the backs of three adjoining reports surviving from a τόμος cυγκολλήcιμος.

Col. i

	ἀναλώματος ὁμοίως	
	ἐνεβλήθη εἰς τὸ δημόcιον πλοῖον	
	cίτου ῥυπαροῦ	(ἀρτ.) ω ⟦οβϚ⟧ ˋιϚʹ
	c]ιτομετρικοῦ	(ἀρτ.) δʹ
5	Δωροθέῳ εἰδίῳ ἐξ ἐπιστά⟨λ⟩μα-	
	τος	(ἀρτ.) ζʹ
	Πανὲ ποιμένι ἐξ ἐπιστάλμα-	
	τος	(ἀρτ.) γ ⟦Ϛ⟧
	τῷ αὐτῷ Πανὲ ποιμένι ἐξ	
10	ἐπιστάλματος	(ἀρτ.) ⟦ιγϚ⟧ˋ⟦α⟧ʹ(ἀρτ.?) ιϚʹ
	Λέοντι ταυρελάτῃ ὑπὲρ ὀψω-	
	νίου	(ἀρτ.) κ
	τ]ῇ γεούχῳ ὑπὲρ τιμῆς χύρου	
	˙ το]ῦ ἀφέντος αὐτῇ	(ἀρτ.) [.] . Ϛʹ
15	Ἀ]μμωνᾷ ὑπὲρ cυντάξεως	(ἀρτ.)[
	....]τάρχῳ ὀνηλάτῃ	(ἀρτ.)[
	.....]ᾷ εἰς κολλούρια	(ἀρτ.)[
	....]κ . . οιc	(ἀρτ.)[
	.....] . . θη εἰς τὰς τρύγας	
20	.....] . . (ἀρτ.) γ ἄρτων (ἀρτ.) γ, [ὁμ]οῦ (ἀρτ.) Ϛ[	
	......] . . . [c. 10 letters] . [	

·   ·   ·   ·   ·

Col. ii

	Ἀφοῦτι προς{c}βυτέρῳ καὶ Ἄμμων[ι	
	Ἀcυνκριτίου ὑπὲρ μιcθοῦ νε[ο]φύτ[ου	
	Χωρίου Κεραμίου	(ἀρτ.)[
25	Ἀτρῇ υἱῷ Λωτᾶ εἰς καταcπορὰν [	
	Εὐλογίῳ εἰς καταcπορὰν [	
	Παθερμουθίῳ ἠπητῇ εἰς κατα·	
	cπορὰν (vac.)	[

	Ἄμμωνι Ἀcυνκριτίου εἰς κατα-	
30	cπορὰν	(ἀρτ.)[
	Παύλῳ Ἀρcᾶ εἰς καταcπορὰν	[
	Ἀβουρίῳ ἀπὸ Φανκόνα εἰς κα[τα-	
	cπορὰν (vac.)	[

·   ·   ·   ·   ·

5 l. ἰδίῳ   11 ὑπέρ   13 l. χοίρου   15 ὑπέρ   22 l. πρεσβυτέρῳ   25 υἱῷ

Col. i

'Expenses likewise:

'There were loaded into the public boat in uncleaned wheat:	art. 816.
'Fee for measuring grain:	art. 4
'To our own (slave?) Dorotheus according to order:	art. 7
'To Panes, shepherd, according to order:	art. 3
'To the same Panes, shepherd, according to order:	art. $10\frac{1}{2}$
'To Leon, bull driver, for his salary:	art. 20
'To the lady landowner, in respect of the value of the pig released to her:	art. ...
'To Ammonas in respect of his allowance:	art. ...
'To (Plu?)tarchus, donkey driver:	art. ...
'To ... for colluria:	art. ...
'To ...	art. ...
'(There were expended?) towards the vintages:	
'... wheat(?) art. 3, loaves art. 3, together:	art. 6

Col. ii

'To Aphus the elder (priest?) and Ammon son of Asyncritius, in respect of rent on the newly planted vineyard at Chorium Ceramiu(?):	art. ...
'To Hatres son of Lotas, for sowing:	
'To Eulogius, for sowing:	
'To Pathermuthis the tailor, for sowing:	
'To Ammon son of Asyncritius, for sowing:	art. ...
'To Paulus son of Harsas, for sowing:	
'To Aburis, from Phancona, for sowing:	

2–3 These lines presumably concern taxes, so ῥυπαροῦ may not refer to the condition of the wheat but mean instead that extra charges were included in the sum stated, cf. e.g. P. Mich. VI 372. 9 n.; but fourth century receipts can mention supplementary fees whether the primary payment was καθαρός as in XLVIII **3395** or ῥυπαρός as in P. Neph. 27.

4 Charges for measuring grain are rarely mentioned but span virtually the whole papyrological period; cf. IV **740** 3, P. Hib. I 10. 14, P. Iand. 63. 2 and 7, P. Erl. 97. 13. There is no obvious relation between the amount charged and the amount measured.

5 ἰδίῳ, l. ἰδίῳ. This word is used similarly in other accounts, e.g. L **3598** 4, 6. It may designate a slave, see **3597** 15 n., but J. A. Straus is cautious on the point in *ANRW* II 10. 1 p. 851 with n. 27. XLVI **3314** 14–15 gives quite a different tone in ἴδιοι.

Orders called ἐπιστάλματα seem to have had no special form. There are many examples expressly so called in CPR VI i 12 ff., cf. also e.g. P. Prag. I 104 (the ἐπίσταλμα referred to in SB VI 9052. 21) and P. Alex. 13 with corrections by H. C. Youtie, *Scriptiunculae* II 934–6 (=*ZPE* 1 (1967) 170–172).

10 The original figure 13½ was corrected by writing alpha over gamma and drawing strokes through γ⳽; then the whole was cancelled and ιϛ written farther to the right.

13–14 χύρου (l. χοίρου)|[το]ῦ ἀφέντος αὐτῇ. Cf. XXII **2353** 13–14 εἰ θέλεις ἀφῆσαι τὸ χυρίδιον, μὴ θῦσαι δϲ (=ὥϲ) ὅτου ἔλθῃ, 'If you want to dispose of the pig, don't kill it till he comes'. As an alternative to interpreting χύρου as χοίρου one might read ⟨ἁ⟩χύρου.

16 ....]τάρχῳ. A common name, such as Plutarchus, is expected, rather than a grand one, such as Aristarchus.

17 Perhaps Ἀμμων]ᾷ again as in 15.

On κολλούρια see LIX **4000** 26 n. It seems likely that in this context, as in **4000**, where they are measured by the artaba, κολλούρια refers to a type of sweet bun, and that the grain is being supplied directly to be baked into them. The spelling is not a reliable guide, but it seems much less likely that there is any reference here to the eye salves known as κολλύρια.

18 It is difficult to read τοῖϲ κυρίοιϲ, as there would be very little room for iota after rho. κυροῖϲ might do, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 302, or (name)] καὶ υἱοῖϲ.

19 We expect ἀνη]λώθη, cf. 1, perhaps indented or preceded by καί, but the abrasion has removed so much ink that it cannot be confirmed.

20 Here the suggested sense is that we should expect ϲίτ]ου, again perhaps indented, to contrast with ἄρτων, both totalled together, and this seems attractive, but [ὁμ]οῦ is not perhaps the only possibility.

22 προϲ{ϲ}βυτέρῳ (l. πρεϲβυτέρῳ). This text is too late for a village elder. The word can mean 'priest', but here it may distinguish an older Aphus from a younger.

23–4 χωρίου Κεραμίου looks like a place name, of which there may be some shadowy trace already, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 78 s.v. KEPA ( ).

25 Λωτᾶ. Λωτᾶϲ is not in F. Preisigke, *Namenbuch* or D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, though similar names are listed.

32 Ἀβουρίῳ. The form is probably a dative of Ἀβοῦρις, cf. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 25–9.

J. C. SHELTON

4344. NOMINATION OF SITOLOGI

23 3B.3/D(2–3)a   14 × 24 cm   342

The tesserarius, comarchs, and 'the rest of the villagers' of Posompöys present the strategus with the names of four men to serve as sitologi for the ἰδιωτικὸϲ κανών, see 9 n., on the harvest of the first indiction, which according to the latest study of the subject will have run from 26 April 342 to 25 April 343, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 9–16, 26–7, 68; cf. also LI **3621** introd. and n. 9.

4344 is the latest nomination to a routine liturgy known to have been submitted to a strategus: the only other instance of this procedure after the introduction of the *praepositus pagi*, who was the usual recipient of such texts in the fourth century, is P. Leit. 3, from c. AD 313. That fourth century strategi were concerned with the appointment of some *ad hoc* liturgists, however, is clear from SB I 4513 and P. Mert. II 90, and in

view of their rôle as supervisors of tax collection an interest in the subordinate officials concerned is understandable enough.

The only other Oxyrhynchite nominations to the sitologia yet published are PSI X 1106 and 1107 (AD 336, two copies of the same text) and LI **3621**. Cf. for the Arsinoite nome P. Berl. Leihg. II 45 (c. 164), P. Petaus 59 (185), P. Leit. 3 (c. 313), P. Thead. 50=P. Sakaon 51 (324); and for the Hermopolite P. Lugd. Bat. XI 2 (339), P. Cair. Preisigke 18–19 (339), and P. Amh. II 139=W. *Chr.* 406 (350). A bibliography on the liturgy is given in P. Petaus p. 231; cf. also XXXVI **2769** and P. Mich. XI 604 with the commentaries.

ὑπατείαϲ τῶν δεϲποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνϲτάντιοϲ τὸ γ′
καὶ Κώνϲταντοϲ τὸ β′ Αὐγούϲτων.   (vac.)
Κλαυδίῳ Ἡρακλήῳ Ἡρακλήου ϲτρατηγῷ Ὀξυρυγχ(ίτου)
π[α]ρὰ Αὐρηλίων Παῦλοϲ Παθατρῆτοϲ τεϲϲαλαρίου
5   καὶ Ὧροϲ Ὥρου καὶ Καμῆϲ Ὠρίωνοϲ κωμαρχῶν
τῶν πά]ντων {τῶν} ἀπὸ κώμ[ηϲ] Ποϲομπόϋϲ ἐϛ πά-
γου. δίδομ]εν καὶ εἰϲαγ[γέ]λλομεν τῷ ἰδίῳ
ἡμῶν κιν]δύνῳ εἰϲ ϲιτολογείαν τῆϲ ἡμετέραϲ
κώ]μηϲ τοῦ ἰδιωτικοῦ κανόνοϲ [γ]ενήμα-
10   τοϲ] τῆϲ αϛ″ νέαϲ ἰνδικτίωνοϲ τοὺϲ ὑπο-
γεγρ]αμμένουϲ ὄνταϲ εὐπόρουϲ καὶ ἐπιτηδεί-
ου]ϲ πρὸϲ τὴν χρείαν, οὓϲ καὶ ἐγγυώμεθα
ἑκου]ϲία γνώμῃ ἐκτελοῦνταϲ τὴν χρείαν
ἀμέ]μπτωϲ.   (vac.)   εἰ[ϲὶ]ν δέ. Αὐρήλιοι
15   Κεφαλᾶ Ψεναμούν[ι]οϲ
Ἡρακλείδηϲ Ψεναμούνιοϲ
Δι[ον]ύϲιοϲ Παειᾶτοϲ
....].ηϲ Παειᾶτοϲ
πά]νταϲ ὄνταϲ ἀπὸ τῆϲ αὐτῆϲ κώμηϲ παρόνταϲ
20   καὶ εὐδοκοῦνταϲ.
(m. 2?) Αὐρήλιοι Παῦλοϲ καὶ Καμῆϲ καὶ Ὧροϲ
ἐπιδεδώκαμεν. Αὐρήλιοϲ Παπνοῦτιϲ
Πανοϲνέωϲ ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γρ.........·

Back. (m. 3?) Ποϲομπόϋϲ

1 ὑπατειαϲ; l. Κωνϲταντίου   2 Αὐγούϲτων: A corr. from ν   3 l. Ἡρακλείῳ Ἡρακλείου; οξυρυγ^χ
4–5 l. Παύλου, Ὥρου, Καμῆτοϲ   4 l. τεϲϲεραρίου   5 κωμαρχῶ   8 l. ϲιτολογίαν   9 ἰδιωτικου;
l. κανόνοϲ   12 l. ἐγγυώμεθα   15 l. Κεφαλᾶϲ

'In the consulship of our masters Constantius Augustus for the 3rd time and Constans Augustus for the 2nd time. To Claudius Heraclius son of Heraclius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome, from the Aurelii Paulus son of Pathatres, tesserarius, and Horus son of Horus and Cames son of Horion, comarchs, all of them from the village of Posompöys of the 5th pagus. We present and report at our own risk for the office of sitologus of our village for the private impost from the crop of the 1st new indiction the persons whose names follow, being of adequate means and suitable for the service, whom by voluntary choice we guarantee to carry out the service blamelessly. They are:

Cephalas son of Psenamunis,

Heracleides son of Psenamunis,

Dionysius son of Paeias,

... es son of Paeias,

who are all from the same village and are present and consenting.'

'We, the Aurelii Paulus, Cames and Horus, submitted (this report). I, Aurelius Papnutis son of Panosneus, wrote on their behalf, because they do not know letters.'

Back: 'Posompöys'.

1–2 See R. Bagnall, etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 218–219.

3 For this strategus see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 105. The date there should be 1 (not 5) March 342. The name of his father was unknown. He may be the same person who was *curator ciuitatis* in 346 or 347 under the name of Flavius Heraclius, see LIV p. 229.

4 τεσσαλαρίου (= τεσσεραρίου). See LI **3621** 5–6 n.

6 τῶν πά]ρτων {τῶν} ἀπὸ κώμ[ης]. Cf. PSI X 1106. 7–8, 1107. 7–8.

9 τοῦ ἰδιωτικοῦ κανόνος (= κανόνος), 'imposts on private land', according to XVII **2124** 10 n. If that line of thought is in general correct, the meaning may be broader than the rather unexpected appointment of officials to collect taxes on ἰδιωτική as opposed e.g. to βασιλικὴ γῆ. In the Fayum all land apart from direct imperial holdings seems to have passed into private hands by 297, see P. Cair. Isid. p. 39. Assuming a parallel development in the Oxyrhynchite nome, the ἰδιωτικὸς κανών could stand in contrast with revenue from the *patrimonium*, a contrast which is attested for κανών *tout court* in P. Lugd. Bat. XI 2. 12 and 15. There is, however, little evidence to judge by. See P. Vindob. Worp. 8. 24–5 n., P. Charite p. 14.

10 νέας ἰνδικτίωνος. At this date the point of νέα should be that a new indictional cycle was beginning, cf. R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 30–35; LI **3621** was also written near the beginning of an indiction. It should be noted that the clear implication here and in other texts that sitologi were responsible for the crops of a single year or indiction does not conflict with P. Berl. Leihg. II 45. 6, which the editor believed to demonstrate a three year term of office, see L. Koenen's correction to the text in *ZPE* 31 (1978) 76.

12–14 Cf. XII **1426** 14–16 ὂν καὶ ἐγγυώμεθα ἑκουσίᾳ γνώμῃ ἐκτελοῦντα τὴν χρείαν εἰς τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ μεμφθῆναι.

23 The standard wording is ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν γράμματα μὴ εἰδότων, but after γρ- the undamaged writing is too rapid to read. At least part of the difficulty is due to the sort of deliberate carelessness technically known as 'Verschleifung', see W. *Grdz.* p. XLII, but abbreviation may also be involved.

J. C. SHELTON

4345. NOMINATION OF A COLLECTOR OF *ANABOLICUM*

A242/9(a)   9.5 × 9 cm   343

An official whose title has been lost informs another of the appointment of a man to serve as ἀπαιτητὴς ἱεροῦ ἀναβολικοῦ for the indiction which ran from 26 April 343

to 25 April 344. The appointment seems to have been in some manner pre-arranged with the *praeses Augustamnicae* Flavius Olympius, whose name appears here for the fourth time, but the circumstances alluded to in 10–13 are obscure. For the known processes of nomination in this period see B. Palme, *Das Amt des ἀπαιτητής* 118–119.

Other nominations of ἀπαιτηταί are XVII **2124** (316), XIX **2232** (316), P. Thead. 50 = P. Sakaon 51 (324), P. Amh. II 139 = W. *Chr.* 406 (350), and P. Lugd. Bat. XIII 10 (IV). For the ἀναβολικόν see XLVIII **3408** 11 n. An ἀπαιτητής of the charge is also mentioned in VIII **1135** (III), cf. Palme, op. cit. 201 No. 252, 244 n. 131.

On the back, written across the fibres, are the letters] ‚λος.

. . . . . .

c. 12 letters] . . . [.] . . [c. 10 letters

λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης) Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως.

δίδωμι καὶ εἰσαγγέλλω εἰς ἀπέτησιν

τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀναβολικοῦ τῆς ἡμετέρας

5   . . . . . ίας τῆς εὐτυχοῦς β´ νέ[ας

ἰνδικτίωνος τὸν ἑξῆ[ς ὑπογεγραμ–

μένα ὄντα τῆς αὐτῆς δ[c. 9 letters

καὶ δυνάμενον πᾶσαν διο[c. 6   ποι–

ήςασθαι τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀ[ναβολικοῦ

10   καθὼς ἀνήνεγκεν ἐπὶ τὴ[ν ἐξου–

cίαν τοῦ διαςημοτάτου ἡμῶ[ν

ἡγεμόνος τῆς Ἀγουςταμνικῆ[ς

Φλαουΐου Ὀλυμπίου. ἔςτι δέ.

Αὐρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος Ψεναμο[ύ]νι[ος

15   c. 10 letters]ς ‚η[. . .] . . . [

. . . . . .

2 λαμ⎰, λαμ⎰   3 l. ἀπαίτηςιν   6–7 l. ὑπογεγραμμένον   12 l. Ἀγουςταμνικῆς

'... (of the) glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites. I present and report for the office of collector of the sacred anabolicum of our ... for the fortunate second new indiction the man whose name is written directly below, being of the same ... and capable of carrying out the complete ... of the same sacred anabolicum just as he reported to the authority of our *praeses* of Augustamnica, Flavius Olympius, *uir perfectissimus*: namely, Aurelius Ammonius son of Psenamunis ...'

5 . . . . . ίας. This word recurs in still more mutilated form at the end of line 7. Nomination of village officials often specified that the persons to be appointed were ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς κώμης (XII **1425** 11–12, XVII **2124** 17, **4344** 19, PSI X 1106. 15 = 1107. 17, XII 1231. 15, P. Thead. 50 = P. Sakaon 51. 27, BGU XIII 2252. 11–12). The metropolitan equivalent was ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως τῆς αὐτῆς φυλῆς (VIII **1116** = W. *Chr.*

403. 20, XXXIV **2715** 19, PSI X 1108. 17, all nominations submitted by the systates to the logistes); this suggests *τῆc αὐτῆc πολιτίαc* as a conceivable variant, but the only word which seems to fit both here and in line 7 is *δεκανίαc*. *Δεκανοί* are known to have been involved in collecting taxes and requisitions, cf. XIV **1626**, XVII **2155** 22 ff., XXXVIII **2859**, P. Ryl. II 196. 6–9 n., and further the late usage of *δεκανία* apparently as a tax district, e.g. P. Michael. 45. 19, 48. 19. But despite the existence of numbered *δεκανίαι* at Thebes (O. Tait 1923, O. Thebes 178) and Tholthis (XII **1512**) no other text suggests that Oxyrhynchus itself was ever administratively so divided, and as a reading *δεκανίαc* is too uncertain to print without corroboration.

5–6 *β′ νέ[αc] ἰνδικτίωνοc*. Cf. **4344** 10 n.

8 Presumably *διο[ίκηcιν* or *διά[δοcιν*, of which the former fits the traces better.

10 Barring a scribal error, the subject of *ἀνήνεγκεν* must be the liturgical appointee himself. *Ἀναφέρω* can of course be used of the physical transport of goods, and a promise that the liturgist would perform some duty after delivery of the anabolicum to the praesidial office would make sense, but *καθὼc ἀνήνεγκεν* surely indicates rather that the liturgy was to be carried out in accord with a previous submission of some sort by the appointee.

12 *Ἀγουcταμνικῆc* (l. *Αὐγ*-). Cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i 228.

13 Flavius Olympius is attested as governor of Augustamnica on 14 March 343 by XLVIII **3389** and on 6 April 343 by P. Sakaon 48=SB VI 9622 (which is the only reference in A. H. M. Jones etc., *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* I 646), and at an unknown date by SB XVI 12814=*Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* iii 825–8. His only known predecessor, Flavius Julius Ausonius, is last known on 5 May 342 (P. Harr. I 65).

                                                                        J. C. SHELTON

4346. Skipper's Receipt

48 5B.107/D(2–4)a   16 × 27.5 cm   5 November 380

A receipt for 148½ artabas of barley plus various associated charges, very similar in form to XLVIII **3395** and XLIX **3481**, from which otherwise unexplained restorations have been taken. The most recent work on related texts is by A. J. M. Meyer–Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer*; see further P. Nepheros 47 with introd. and notes, and for the taxes P. Nepheros 27 and 43.

The date of **4346** is of some interest, as it is paralleled by only three other documents, all likewise from the Oxyrhynchite nome, see 10 n. The back is blank.

      Αὐρήλιοc Παμοῦθιc Ἀπολλωνίου [c. 7 letters
      κυβερνήτηc πλοίου Οὐαλερίου Ε [c. 7 letters
                 (vac.)   [c. 7 letters?
      χαίρειν. μεμέτρημαι καὶ ἐνεβαλό[μην εἰc τὸ
5   *προκείμενον πλοῖον ἀπὸ κανό[νοc τῆc*
      ἐνάτηc ἰνδικτίονοc κριθῆc καθαρᾶc [(ἀρτάβαc) ἑκατὸν
      τεccεράκοντα ὀκτὼ ἥμιcυ, (γίνονται) κριθ(ῆc) (ἀρτάβαι) ρμη [(ἥμιcυ) μόναι.
      ἔcχον δὲ καὶ τὸ τούτων κούμουλον καὶ τὰ [ναῦλα
      καὶ τὰc ἑκατοcτὰc καὶ τὸ cακκοφ[ο]ρι[κ]ὸ[ν] π[λήρηc.
10   *(ἔτουc) ιδ″ ϛϛ β″, Ἀθὺρ θ⁻.*

      7 l. *τεccαράκοντα*; / *κριθ⁻*   10 *∠*

'Aurelius Pamuthis son of Apollonius … skipper of a boat belonging to Valerius … (to) …, greetings. I have had measured out and laden into the aforesaid boat, out of the taxes of the ninth indiction, one hundred and forty-eight and a half artabas of clean barley, total barley 148½ artabas only, and I have also received the *cumulus* on these, the shipping fees, the percentage charges, and the porterage, in full. Year 14, 6, 2, Hathyr 9th.'

1 There is room after *Ἀπολλωνίου* for *μη(τρόc)* and a short name or for a papponymic or for Pamuthis's *origo*; a further possibility may be [*ναυκληρο*]|*κυβερνήτηc*. If that term means that the captain was also the owner of the boat, as is sometimes maintained, e.g. L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship* 316 and n. 70, P. Harris I 94 introd., J. Vélissaropoulos, *Les nauclères grecs* 54 n. 237, 81, then it cannot have stood here. I have found no example of a *ναυκληροκυβερνήτηc* elsewhere who clearly skippered another man's boat, but the term is rare, and there is nothing in the word *ναύκληροc* itself, charterer as well as owner, which would *a priori* make the situation unlikely. For the distinction between the *ναύκληροc, κυβερνήτηc,* and *κύριοc* of a ship cf. Meyer–Termeer, *Die Haftung der Schiffer* 7–11, J. Rougé, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime* 229 ff.

2–3 If the normal pattern of nomenclature was used then the ship owner was named Valerius E … and the dative object of *χαίρειν* (4) followed. In the papyrus there is a vacant space sufficient for one line after line 2; in arranging the text I have assumed that all or part of the addressee's name was once written there, but so deeply indented that it has now been lost. Less probably a short name may have fitted wholly into line 2 and line 3 may have been blank.

6 *ἐνάτηc ἰνδικτίονοc*. The ninth is the current indiction; the taxes are being paid on the most recently harvested crop.

8–9 The extra charges, with the exception of *ἑκατοcταί*, occur in the same order in XLVIII **3395** 12–13, cf. notes there and Meyer–Termeer, *Die Haftung* 13–14 and 17–19, P. Nepheros 47 introd.

10 The regnal years are those of Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius I. Similar dates are found in VII **1041** 16, PSI X 1108. 12, and SB IV 7445. 9. For the puzzle of the computation in Egypt of the regnal years of Gratian and Theodosius see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 77 n. 1, referring to P. J. Sijpesteijn, K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 28 (1978) 239–43.

                                                                        J. C. SHELTON

4347. Receipt for Barley

44 5B.63/(47)a   16 × 26.5 cm   10 October 355

The written area of this item has been smeared all over, possibly with a clerk's sponge, cf. E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* 8, 18 (= ed. 2 6, 16), and especially 91 No. 50, where the sooty effect in the small patches is very similar to the whole of the writing here. The sponging was probably done at the time when the back was used for the tax schedule published below as **4348**, which must postdate the receipt.

The contents have not yet been fully read, but there is some interest in the counter-signature, which is made by an official with the new title of *ἐπιμελητὴc Λιβύηc*. This may be connected with the exactions recorded in SB X 10568, which is a receipt issued by the *χρυcώνηc* of the province of the Thebaid to a receiver (*ὑποδέκτηc*) for a money payment of two hundred and forty *solidi*, plus charges, in respect of the *annonae* of Libya (*ὑπὲρ λόγου ἀννωνῶν Λιβοίηc=Λιβύηc*), 6). The date of that receipt, to judge from the known careers of the *χρυcώνηc* and the *ὑποδέκτηc*, must fall in the last thirty years of

the fourth century; the editor prefers to assign the seventh indiction mentioned to 393/4 rather than to 378/9, and argues for a connection with the military activities of the emperor Theodosius, see E. Wipszycka, *Eos* 56/2 (1966) 350–360. If indeed the two hundred and fifty artabas of barley here acknowledged as having been embarked on board ship were part of the *annonae Libyae,* then it was a more long standing institution than hitherto envisaged. Some transfers of grain to Libya were established already by Constantine, see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* ii 898–9.

ἐνεβάλετο εἰς τὰ παρασταθέντα πλοῖα κριθῆς
. . . . ϲ . μϵ . νϵτ . Λιβύης οὐϲίας
δεϲποτικῆϲ διὰ Διδύμου βοηθοῦ ὑπὲρ
γενήματοϲʺ ιδʺ ἰνδικ(τίωνοϲ)ʺ ἀρτάβαϲ διακο—
5   ϲίαϲ πεντήκοντα, (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) ϲν μόναϲ.
(ἔτουϲ) λβʺ Φαῶφι ιβʺ. (vac.)
Ἀπολλοθέων ἐπιμελητὴϲ Λιβύηϲ ϲεϲημ(είωμαι)
κριθῆϲ ἀρτάβαϲ διακοϲίαϲ πεντήκοντα.

4 ʺιδʺʺνδικʺ   5 /⁻ ϲν; l. μόναι   6 ∠   7 ϲεϲημϲ?

'... loaded on board the ships provided two hundred and fifty artabas of barley ... Libya imperial estate through Didymus, assistant, in respect of the crop of the 14th indiction, total art. 250 only. Year 32, Phaophi 12.'

'I, Apollotheon, overseer of Libya, have countersigned for two hundred and fifty artabas of barley.'

1 ἐνεβάλετο. The slight indentation of the first line may be significant, see 2–3 n.
εἰϲ τὰ παρασταθέντα πλοῖα. Cf. P. Charite 13. 32–3 ἐνεβ[αλό]μην εἰϲ τὸ παρασταθὲν πλοῖον. This is a receipt from a supercargo (ἐπίπλοοϲ ἀχύρου) delivered in 325 to the landowner Aurelia Charite.
    The amount of 250 artabas is small for even one Nile boat, see P. Strassb. 519 introd.; the implication is that this consignment was part of a much larger quantity destined for Libya, as one would expect.
2–3 Besides the smearing of the ink some horizontal fibres are missing here. What we miss most is a subject for the verb ἐνεβάλετο in line 1, but if κριθῆϲ is rightly recognized at the end of line 1, then all between that and ἀρτάβαϲ in 4 must describe the barley. In some way Libya must be its destination and it looks as if the imperial estate should be in Libya too. It is not clear why the receipt is anonymous. It may be a model, or the slight indentation of the first line may indicate that it was once one of a series where the name needed to be given only in the first entry.
4 ιδʺ ἰνδ(ικτίωνοϲ). This 14th indiction is 355/6, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems* 35, and the barley crop would be that of the summer just past.
6 For the conversion of year 32 of Constantius, Phaophi 12, to 10 October 355 see Bagnall, Worp, op. cit. 38, 96. For the absence of Julian, not yet appointed, see 4348 introd. para. 2.
7–8 Countersignatures of this kind are often in another hand. Here the hand is not obviously different, but the colour of the smeared area is, tending towards brown rather than black, which suggests that a different ink was used. Even so, it remains uncertain whether the signatory was the same as the writer of the body of the document.

Apollotheon's title of ἐπιμελητὴϲ Λιβύηϲ is unique, compare the list in N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services* 28. There is nothing to connect him with known bearers of the name.

R. A. COLES, J. R. REA

4348. TAX SCHEDULE

44 5B.63/(47)a   16 × 26.5 cm   Fourth century

A list of tax rates similar to XVI 1905 and XLVIII 3424. The former is called a μεριϲμ(ὸϲ) ἀρουρ(ῶν), the latter a προϲαίτηϲιϲ, presumably a list of charges in addition to those already collected. The charges here, so far as they recur in 3424, are smaller than in that text, so this too is perhaps rather a list of supplements than of basic taxes. Charges for *uestis* and mules, meat, chaff and grain suggest a levy in the interests of the army, as does a new tax to pay for weapons (1).

The text is written across the fibres on the back of an eight line receipt issued by one Ἀπολλοθέων ἐπιμελητὴϲ Λιβύηϲ (cf. perhaps SB X 10568. 6: 393/4?) for two hundred and fifty artabas of barley, see 4347 above. The receipt is much effaced because of deliberate erasure by sponging, but the date is clear in line 6: (ἔτουϲ) λβʹ Φαῶφι ιβ. This is 10 October 355 if it refers to Constantius II, as it would seem it must; the lack of a regnal year for Julian is no objection; he became Caesar later, on November 6. This date is a *terminus a quo* for 4348.

The list ends abruptly after the first word of line 10. Apart from an ink blot in the next line, a depth of 10 centimetres at the foot is blank.

ὁπλοποιείαϲ	(ἀρούρῃ) α	(τάλαντα) ζ		
κρέωϲ	λί(τρᾳ) α	(τάλαντα) λδ		
ἀχύρου	λί(τρᾳ) α	(τάλαντον) α ʼΒ		
πλοιοποιείαϲ	(ἀρούρῃ) α	(τάλαντα) νδ		
5 βουρδώνων	(ἀρούρῃ) α	(τάλαντα) κζ		
πλατυπηγίων καὶ ὑπὲρ				
ναύλων	(ἀρούρῃ) α	(τάλαντα) δ		
ἐϲθῆτόϲ χλαμυδίων καὶ ϲτιχαρίων καὶ				
παλ⟨λ⟩ίων καὶ ϲτιχ(αρίων) λινῶν (ἀρούρῃ) α	(τάλαντα) γ (ἥμιϲυ)			
10 ϲιτοκρίθου	(vac.)			
	(vac.)			

2–3 λ   9 ϲτιχ

'For arms manufacture	per arura	tal. 7
For meat	per lb.	tal. 34
For chaff	per lb.	tal. 1 (dr.) 2,000
For boat building	per arura	tal. 54
For mules	per arura	tal. 27
For flat boats and		
freight charges	per arura	tal. 4
For *uestis*, cloaks and tunics and mantles		
and linen tunics	per arura	tal. 3(?)½
For wheat and barley ...'		

1 ὁπλοποιείας (l. –ποιίας). The word has not occurred before in the papyri. On the state arms factories see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* ii 834–6. This tax may have been a commutation of levies of materials for use in the *fabricae*, see Jones, op. cit. i 449–450.

2–3 To judge from XLVIII **3424** 12 λά(τρᾳ) is to be expanded in the dative and the following sum is an extra exaction on each pound of meat.

4 πλοιοποιείας (l. –ποιίας). This is not in LSJ or F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, but has occurred in P. Panop. Beatty 2. 16, 177, 271, cf. 272 πλοιοποιούς. This is the first attestation as a tax. The *nauicularii* were expected to finance shipbuilding, but this was only one aspect of the *nauicularia functio*, see Jones, op. cit. ii 827–830, esp. 829.

5 βουρδώνων. For other instances of this tax to obtain army mules see B. Kramer, *APF* 32 (1986) 44.

6 πλατυπηγίων. On these barges see LI **3636** 1 n. with the article by Rémondon cited there, P. Vindob. Tandem 19. 11 with n., XXXIV **2715** 9.

8–9 ἐσθῆτος κτλ. Cf. XLVIII **3424** 2 n. The components χλαμύδες, στιχάρια and πάλλια are standard, see J. Karayannopoulos, *Das Finanzwesen* 112.

χλαμυδίων. For the rare diminutive cf. P. Cair. Zen. IV 59609. 4, possibly CPR X 139. 3.

The plain στιχάρια must be different from the linen tunics of line 9. Perhaps the word without specification refers to wool.

J. C. SHELTON

4349. SALE OF WHEAT WITH DEFERRED DELIVERY

22 3B.16/F(5)a   23 × 18.5 cm   20 August 504

Top part of a contract in which a certain Victor, described as παῖς of a *comes* called Eudaemon, purchases 13½ artabas of wheat for three solidi less six carats. On transactions of this well known type see A. Jördens in P. Heid. V pp. 296–341; to her list of parallels add LXI **4132**, together with N. Kruit, *Tyche* 9 (1994) 69–88, esp. p. 69 n. 1, and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 100 (1994) 275–7. **4349** is framed as a joint contract by the seller (or borrower of the purchase price) and his guarantor. The wheat is to be delivered in only eight days, possibly from a late second crop, see 14 n.

+ μετὰ τὴν ὑπατίαν Φλ(αουίου) Δεξικράτους τοῦ ἐνδοξ(οτάτου), Μεσορὴ
κζ, ἀρχ(ῇ) ιγ [ἰνδικ(τίωνος).

Αὐρήλιος Ἰωάννης υἱὸς Θεοδώρου μητρὸς Ἐρεβέκκας μετ' ἐγ[γυητοῦ
τοῦ καὶ ἀναδεχομένου αὐτὸν διδόντα καὶ πληροῦντα τὸ ἑξῆς
δηλ[ο]ύμ[ενον.

5 χρέος ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλίου Φοιβάμμωνος υἱοῦ Δανιηλίου μυλόψου, ἀμφό–
τεροι ἑξῆς ὑπογράφοντες, ὁρμώμενοι ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς λαμπρᾶς
Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως, Οὐΐκτορι παιδεὶ τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου κόμιτος
Εὐδαίμονος γεουχοῦντος ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλει χαίρειν.
ὁμολογῶ ἐγὼ ὁ προγεγραμμένος Ἰωάννης δεδέχθαι παρὰ σοῦ
10 ὑπὲρ τιμῆς τοῦ ὑποτεταγμένου σίτου κατὰ τὸ ἐντεῦθεν συν–
αρέσαντα χρυσοῦ νομίσματα τρία παρὰ κεράτια ἓξ ἰδιωτικῷ ζυγῷ,
γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μίσματα) γ π(αρὰ) κερ(άτια) ϛ ἰδιωτ(ικῷ) ζυγ(ῷ)
ἐπὶ τῷ μὲ – ἢ καὶ μὲ τὸν τούτου ἐγγυητὴν
ἐνεχόμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ εἰς καταβολὴν ὑπὲρ τούτων – διδόναι σοι σίτου
ἀρτάβας δεκατρὶς ἥμισυ μέτρῳ δικαίῳ ἐν τῇ νεομηνίᾳ τοῦ ἑξῆς μηνὸς
15 Θὼθ τοῦ εἰσιόντος ἔτους ρπα ρν ἐκ νέω[ν] καρπῶν τρισκαιδ[ε]κάτης
ἐπινεμήσεως. εἰ δὲ μὴ τὸν [αὐτ]ὸν ς[ῖτο]ν ἀποδώ[σο]μεν – [ἢ] ἐγὼ ὁ
ὀφειλέτης ἢ κἀγὼ ὁ τούτου ἐγγυητὴς – ὁ[μ]ολογοῦμεν ἐξ ἀλλη–
λενγύης διδό[να]ι ἐν τῇ προθεσμίᾳ τὰ αὐτὰ τ[οῦ χρυσοῦ νομίσματα
τρία παρὰ κερ[άτια] ἓξ το[ῦ αὐτο]ῦ μου ἐγγεγραμ[μένου
c. 10 letters   ] [

.   .   .   .

Back, downwards along the fibres:

(m. 2) γρ(αμμάτιον) Ἰωάννου μετ' ἐγγυητοῦ Φοιβάμμω[νος ...

1 ὑπατιαν: l. ὑπατείαν; φλϛ, ενδοξϛ, αρχϛ   2 ιωαννης υιος   4 υιου   5 υπογραφοντες
6 l. παιδί   9 υπερ, υποτεταγμενου   10 ιδιωτικῳ   11 γι/χρ/ν γ π/κερ/, ιδιωτϛζυνϛ, εγ'γυητην
12 υπερ (bis)   13 l. δεκατρεὶς   14 l. τρεισκαιδεκάτης   16–17 l. ἀλληλεγγύης
18 εγ'γεγραμ[μενου   19 γρ/

'After the consulship of Flavius Dexicrates, *uir gloriosissimus*, Mesore 27, beginning of the 13th indiction.'

'Aurelius Iohannes son of Theodorus, mother Erebecca, with as surety, guaranteeing that he will deliver and pay in full the debt stated below, me, Aurelius Phoebammon son of Daniel, ..., both subscribing below, who come from this glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, to Victor, servant of the *comes* Eudaemon, *uir gloriosissimus*, landholder in the same city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings.'

'I, the aforesaid Iohannes, acknowledge that I have now received from you for the price of the wheat stated below three satisfactory gold solidi less six carats by private standard, total sol. 3, less car. 6, by private standard, on condition that I—or I, his surety, who am responsible for him in making delivery for the money—give you thirteen and one half artabas of wheat by fair measure on the first of the next month, Thoth of the coming year 181, 150, out of the new crop of the thirteenth indiction. If neither I, your debtor, nor I, his surety, deliver the wheat, we promise on mutual surety to pay on the appointed date the same three gold solidi less six carats of the same herein written (debt) of mine ...'

Back. (2nd hand) 'Contract of Iohannes with as surety Phoebammon ...'

1 This is the earliest mention in the papyri of this postconsulship and the consul of the year, Flavius Cethegus, does not appear till 29 October. On 27 October XVI **1884** was still dated by the postconsulship of Dexicrates, see R. S. Bagnall etc., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 543.

During the year 504 the indiction number changed from 12 to 13. In dating formulas from the Oxyrhynchite nome the change of indiction was normally made on Thoth 1, the Egyptian New Year's day, which still lay eight days in the future when this text was drawn up. Here the scribe is using an indiction year which began earlier, presumably either with the *praedelegatio* of 1 May or the *delegatio* of 1 July. Indicating this is the point of ἀρχ(ῇ). The same idea is more commonly expressed by ἰνδικτίωνος ιβ, ἀρχῇ ιγ, but this form is also used in e.g. XVI **1994** and P. Köln III 151. For evidence and discussion see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems* 26–7 and 55 ff.

4 μυλοψοῦ. The word is apparently not attested elsewhere and the meaning of the few other compounds in –οψός or –οψος in P. Kretschmer, E. Locker, *Rückläufiges Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* 528 does not suggest a promising sense for a formation with μύλος. Read perhaps μυρεψοῦ, 'perfume maker'.

6 παιδεί (l. παιδί). I presume that this is a servant of the *comes*, not son, but it is not clear whether he was a free man or a slave. Comparison with the Apions' οἰκέτης Menas springs to mind; the persons in that position were probably slaves, see the long discussion by I. Fikhman in *Miscellanea Papyrologica* (Pap. Flor. VII) 71–2. But even closer to the present situation is that of a παῖς representing a *comes* in P. Lond. V 1701. The editor thought he was 'no doubt a domestic slave' (p. 106), and this was accepted by R. Taubenschlag (e.g. *Law* 90 n. 118). Like Victor in **4349** his name is given without Aurelius or Flavius, but that is not expected in this context and is missing from the name of the *comes* here too. More significant is the fact that the παῖς in P. Lond. 1701 apparently has a patronymic; that speaks for a free man. One could perhaps avoid this conclusion by translating Ἀρίστ[ων] Φοιβάμμωνος | παῖς τοῦ μεγαλοπρε(πεστάτου) κόμ(ιτος) Θεοδώρου (P. Lond. 1701. 8–9) as 'Ariston, former slave of Phoebammon' etc., but that is certainly not the natural meaning of the Greek. Concerning some other supposed cases of slaves with patronymics see J. A. Straus, *ZPE* (1978) 259–260. The wording of **4349** implies that Victor is acting as a principal in the contract, not as the intermediary of Eudaemon the *comes*, but no argument can be derived from this, since other papyri show what appears to be independent economic activity by undoubted slaves, see I. Bieżuńska–Małowist, *L'Esclavage* ii 101, 133, 136–7. Whether Victor here is a free servant is of course in the final analysis uncertain, but I see no proof that the other παῖδες with like functions mentioned by Taubenschlag were slaves either. Presumably free παῖδες in recent Byzantine publications include CPR VIII 2.8, P. Laur. III 109.3, P. Hamb. III 228. 11, 229. 2.

10–11 The subtractions made from money sums in Byzantine Egypt have most recently been discussed in K. Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomiomatia*, esp. pp. 54–8.

14 The chief harvest time for wheat was roughly mid-April to mid-May. If that is meant here, the νέοι καρποί were about three months old. It is tempting to avoid this by seeing instead a reference to a second crop; and if the farmer's common motivation in such transactions, 'to finance his crop and ... his own existence until the harvest' (R. S. Bagnall, *GRBS* 18 (1977) 87), was in play, this crop had not yet been harvested. For the agricultural possibility see M. Schnebel, *Landwirtschaft* 164.

J. C. SHELTON

4350. APPOINTMENT OF TAX COLLECTORS

No inv. no.   32.5 × 31.5 cm   22 July 576

Three *coloni adscripticii*, including the village scribe of Sasu Cato, contract with Flavius Apion II, represented by his servant Menas, to collect taxes for the 10th indiction (1 May 576–30 April 577) and turn these over to the ἔνδοξος οἶκος; comparable texts are I **136** = W *Chr.* 383, XVI **1894** and **4351**; cf. also VIII **1134**. Remarkably, neither wages for the collectors nor emoluments for the land owner are mentioned; as **4351** is also silent on these points, they may have been fixed by custom. The area for which the collectors were to be held responsible is likewise left unstated. It will hardly have been the whole of the vast Apion holdings; Sasu Cato may have been considered obvious. This is the first example in the papyri of *adscripticii* serving as tax collectors. But presumably those persons in **4351** who wish to share in tax collecting at Pacerce are *adscripticii* by definition, since the holding owned by the Apions there was their *origo* (**4351** 20).

+ βασιλείας τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου
    μεγίστου εὐεργέτου Φλαουΐου Ἰουστίνου τοῦ αἰωνίου
Αὐγούστου καὶ Αὐτοκράτορος ἔτους ια/, ὑπατίας τῆς αὐτῶν
    γαληνότητος τὸ β΄΄ καὶ Φλαουΐου Τιβερίου τοῦ καὶ Νέου
(vac.)   Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ εὐτυχεστάτου ἡμῶν Καίσαρος, Ἐπεὶφ
        κη΄ ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) θ΄.
Φλ(αουΐῳ) Ἀπίωνι τῷ πανευφήμῳ καὶ ὑπερφυεστάτῳ ἀπὸ ὑπάτων
        ὀρδιναρίων καὶ πατρικίῳ, γεουχοῦντι
5   καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ Νέᾳ Ἰουστίνου πόλει, διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ
    ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ
δεσπότῃ τῷ αὐτῷ πανευφήμῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν καὶ ἐνοχήν, Αὐρήλιοι
        Ἀνοῦπ φροντιστής, υἱὸς
Ἱερημίου, καὶ Παμούθιος υἱὸς Ἀνοῦπ καὶ Παμούθιος ἕτερος,
        γραμμ(ατεύς), υἱὸς Πραοῦτος, οἱ πάντες ὁρμώμενοι
ἀπὸ ἐποικίου Cάσου Κάτω διαφέροντος τῇ ὑμῶν ὑπερφυείᾳ,
        ἐναπόγραφοι αὐτῆς γεωργοί, χαίρειν.
ὁμολογοῦμεν διὰ τῆς παρούσης ἡμῶν ἐγγράφου ἀσφαλείας ἐκτὸς δόλου
        καὶ φόβου καὶ βίας καὶ
10   ἀπάτης κα[ὶ] ἀνάγκης ἑτοίμως ἔχειν πάντα τὰ δημόσια τῆς δεκάτης
        ἐπινεμήσεως

εἰςπρᾶξαι κινδύνῳ ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς ἑκάστου ἡμῶν ὑποστάςεως καὶ
καταβαλεῖν εἰς τὸν
ἔνδοξον οἶκον καὶ μηδὲν τὸ ςύνολον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐᾶςαι ἐν λοιπάδι. εἰ δὲ
ἀπομε⟨ί⟩ναι ςυμβῇ
τινα ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων δημοςίων δεκάτης ἐπινεμήςεως ἀνείςπρακτα,
ὁμολογοῦμεν
ἐνεχόμενοι ὑπὲ[ρ ἀλ]λήλων ταῦτα διδό[ν]αι τῇ ὑμ[ῶν ὑ]περφυε[ίᾳ] δίχα
τινὸ[ς ὑ]περθέςε[ω]ς

15   κι]νδύνω τῶν [ἡμῖν πάντων] ὑπαρχόντ[ων. κ]υρ(ία) ἡ παρ[οῦςα]
ὁμολογί[α ἁπ]λῆ γραφ(εῖςα) [καὶ] ἐπερ(ωτηθέντες) [ὡμ]ολ(ογήςαμεν).

(m. 2)   Ἀ]ὐρήλιος Ἀνο[ῦπ υἱὸ]ς Ἡλίας κ[αὶ Πα]μοῦθις υ[ἱὸς] Ἀνοῦπ [καὶ
Π]αμοῦθ[ις] υἱὸς Π[ραοῦ]ς
οἱ προκαιγραμμ[(ένοι) ς]τιχ(εῖ) ὑμῖν [ἡ π]αροῦςα [ὁ]μολογί[α] τῶν
δ[η]μοςί[ων
ὡς πρόκειται. ὁ [αὐ]τὸς Παμοῦθ[ι]ς ἔγραψα χιρὶ ἐμ[ῇ] ὑπὲρ τ[ο]ῦ ἐμοῦ
ὀν[ό]μ(ατος)
καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν [ἄλλ]ων ἀγραμ[μάτ]ων ὄντω[ν]. +
(vac.)

20   (m. 3) ⳨ δι' ἐμοῦ Μηνᾶ ἐτελ(ειώθη). ⳨

Back, downwards along the fibres:

+ ὁμολογία γεναμ(ένη) π(αρὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ ἐποικ[ίου] Ϲάϲου Κάτω. +

1 φλαουϊου   2 ὑπατείας: l. ὑπατείας   3 ινδ/   4 ὑπερφυεςτατου, ὑπατων   5 ιουςτινου,
ἰδίω   6 υἱος   7 ιερημιου, υἱος, γραμμ̣ς̣, υἱος   8 ὑμων, ὑπερφυεια   11 ὑποςταςεως
14 ὑπερ, ὑμων   15 κυρ/, γραφ/, επερ/, ωμ]ολ/   16 l. Ἀὐρήλιοι, Ἡλίου (or Ἰερημίου, cf. 7),
Πραοῦτος   17 l. προγεγραμμένοι ϲτοιχεῖ ἡμῖν   18 l. χειρί, ονομϲ̣   21 γεναμϲ̣/, π/

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius
Justinus the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 11, in the consulship of their Serenity
for the 2nd time, and of Flavius Tiberius also called Novus Constantinus, our most
fortunate Caesar, Epeiph 28, indiction 9.'

'To Flavius Apion, the all-honoured and most magnificent former *consul ordinarius*
and patrician, landowner here also in the New City of Justinus, through his servant
Menas, who asks the formal question and assumes the management and responsibility
for his own master, the same all-honoured man, Aurelius Anup, manager, son of
Jeremias, Aurelius Pamuthius, son of Anup, and another Aurelius Pamuthius, scribe,
son of Praus, all from the farmstead Sasu Cato which belongs to your magnificence,
registered cultivators of yours, greetings.'

'By our present written bond we acknowledge that we are, free of deceit, fear,
violence, guile or compulsion, prepared to collect all the public dues for the tenth
indiction at our own risk and that of the property of each of us, and to pay these to
the glorious household and to leave no part of them whatever in arrears; but if some
of the said public dues for the tenth indiction should chance to remain uncollected we
agree under mutual responsibility for each other to give these to your magnificence
without delay at the risk of all our property. The present agreement, written in one
copy, is valid and when asked the formal question we so declared. (2nd hand) We,
Aurelius Anup son of Elias, Aurelius Pamuthis son of Anup, and Aurelius Pamuthis son
of Praus, the above mentioned, are satisfied with the present agreement about public
dues as stated. I, the same Pamuthis, wrote with my own hand on behalf of the others,
who are illiterate. (3rd hand) Drawn up by me, Menas.'

Back. (4th hand?). 'An agreement from those of the farmstead Sasu Cato.'

1–3 The date is styled as a compound of Justin II's formula 4 plus formula 2 minus the word ἔτους for
Tiberius II, see R. S. Bagnall, K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas* 50, 54; apparently only SB XII 10934 and XVI
1896, both of AD 577 and from Oxyrhynchus, are fully parallel. All elements of the date agree.

2 ὑπατίας (l. –τείας) ... τὸ β. Justin's second consulate was taken in 568; the count does not change.

2–3 This appears to be the earliest mention of Tiberius II in the papyri. It does not help determine the
starting date of his regnal years, for which problem see B. Kramer, D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 42 (1981) 123–27.

4 On the Apion family see J. Gascou, *Travaux et Mémoires* 9 (1985) 61–75, esp. 65–8 for Flavius Apion II.

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see Bagnall, Worp, *Chronological Systems* 64), I **126** and XVI **1992** (both 572), **1894** (573), P. Berl. Zill. 7 (574),
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Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου. See LVIII **3935** 7 n.

5–6 ἐπερωτῶντος ... ἐνοχήν. See P. Iand III 48. 9 n.

6 φροντιστής. See E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates* 133. Not much is known about them. They were
residents in ἐποίκια with some position of authority or seniority.

6–7 υἱὸς Ἰερημίου. The father's name is given as Ἡλίας in line 16.

7 Παμούθιος. This is spelled Παμοῦθις in line 16, cf. F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* ii 25–6. Παμούθιος ἕτερος,
γραμμ(ατεύς), signs for his illiterate partners in lines 16–19. He may be identical with the scribe of Sasu Cato
in XVI **1917** 120.

8 ἐποικίου Ϲάϲου Κάτω was previously known in the spellings Ϲάϲου Κάτω (XVI **1917** 97 etc.) and Ϲάϲω
Κάτω (**2033**). There appear to be no new references after those assembled by P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 162.
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3512 and P. Wash. Univ. I 25. The word αὐτῆς refers to ὑπερφυείᾳ.

10 δημόςια. Presumably only the dues in money, cf. P. Cair. Maspero II 67138 introd., G. Rouillard,
L' Administration civile 76.

δεκάτης ἐπινεμήςεως. For fiscal purposes the tenth indiction had already begun with the *praedelegatio* of
1 May (hence, presumably, the lack of ϲὺν θεῷ here), though in dating formulas the new indiction would not
start till 1 Thoth and line 3 consequently speaks of indiction 9. See Bagnall, Worp, *Chronological Systems* 26–7, 68.

19 I take some illegible traces of ink after this line to be offsets.

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Ägypten*. His subscription is unusual for Oxyrhynchus in being written in Greek only, see ibid. pp. 13, 19, cf.
LVIII **3958** 40, where the note is wrong is saying that such subscriptions were 'not otherwise attested'; there

εἰcπρᾶξαι κινδύνῳ ἡμῶν καὶ τῆc ἑκάcτου ἡμῶν ὑποcτάcεωc καὶ
καταβαλεῖν εἰc τὸν
ἔνδοξον οἶκον καὶ μηδὲν τὸ cύνολον ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐᾶcαι ἐν λοιπάδι. εἰ δὲ
ἀπομε⟨ί⟩ναι cυμβῇ
τινα ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων δημοcίων δεκάτηc ἐπινεμήcεωc ἀνείcπρακτα,
ὁμολογοῦμεν
ἐνεχόμενοι ὑπὲ[ρ ἀλ]λήλων ταῦτα διδό[ν]αι τῇ ὑμ[ῶν] ὑ[π]ερφυε[ίᾳ] δίχα
τινὸ[c ὑ]περθέcε[ω]c

15   κι]νδύνῳ τῶν [ἡμῖν πάντων] ὑπαρχόντ[ων. κ]υρ(ία) ἡ παρ[οῦcα]
ὁμολογί[α ἁπ]λῆ γραφ(εῖcα) [καὶ] ἐπερ(ωτηθέντεc) [ὡμ]ολ(ογήcαμεν).

(m. 2)   Α]ὐρήλιοc Ἀνο[ῦπ υἱὸ]c Ἡλίαc κ[αὶ Πα]μοῦθιc υ[ἱὸc] Ἀνοῦπ [καὶ
Π]αμοῦθ[ιc] υἱὸc Π[ραοῦ]c
οἱ προκαιγραμμ[(ένοι) c]τιχ(εῖ) ὑμῖν [ἡ π]αροῦcα [ὁ]μολογί[α] τῶν
δ[η]μοcί[ων
ὡc πρόκειται. ὁ [αὐ]τὸc Παμοῦθ[ι]c ἔγραψα χιρὶ ἐμ[ῇ] ὑπὲρ τ[ο]ῦ ἐμοῦ
ὀν[ό]μ(ατοc)
καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν [ἄλλ]ων ἀγραμ[μάτ]ων ὄντω[ν]. +
(vac.)

20   (m. 3) ☧ δι' ἐμοῦ Μηνᾶ ἐτελ(ειώθη). ⳨

Back, downwards along the fibres:

+ὁμολογία γεναμ(ένη) π(αρὰ) τῶν ἀπὸ ἐποικ[ίου] Cάcου Κάτω.+

1 φλαουιου   2 υπατιαc: l. ὑπατείαc   3 ινδ/   4 ὑπερφυεcτατου, υπατων   5 ιουcτινου,
ιδιω   6 υιοc   7 ιερημιου, υιοc, γραμμ S, υιοc   8 υμων, υπερφυεια   11 υποcταcεωc
14 υπερ, υμων   15 κυρ/, γραφ/, επερ/, ωμ]ολ/   16 l. Αὐρήλιοι, Ἡλίου (or Ἰερημίου, cf. 7),
Πραοῦτοc   17 l. προγεγραμμένοι cτοιχεῖ ἡμῖν   18 l. χειρί; ονομS   21 γεναμS/, π/

'In the reign of our most godly and most pious master, greatest benefactor, Flavius Justinus the eternal Augustus and Imperator, year 11, in the consulship of their Serenity for the 2nd time, and of Flavius Tiberius also called Novus Constantinus, our most fortunate Caesar, Epeiph 28, indiction 9.'

'To Flavius Apion, the all-honoured and most magnificent former *consul ordinarius* and patrician, landowner here also in the New City of Justinus, through his servant Menas, who asks the formal question and assumes the management and responsibility for his own master, the same all-honoured man, Aurelius Anup, manager, son of Jeremias, Aurelius Pamuthius, son of Anup, and another Aurelius Pamuthius, scribe, son of Praus, all from the farmstead Sasu Cato which belongs to your magnificence, registered cultivators of yours, greetings.'

'By our present written bond we acknowledge that we are, free of deceit, fear, violence, guile or compulsion, prepared to collect all the public dues for the tenth indiction at our own risk and that of the property of each of us, and to pay these to the glorious household and to leave no part of them whatever in arrears; but if some of the said public dues for the tenth indiction should chance to remain uncollected we agree under mutual responsibility for each other to give these to your magnificence without delay at the risk of all our property. The present agreement, written in one copy, is valid and when asked the formal question we so declared. (2nd hand) We, Aurelius Anup son of Elias, Aurelius Pamuthis son of Anup, and Aurelius Pamuthis son of Praus, the above mentioned, are satisfied with the present agreement about public dues as stated. I, the same Pamuthis, wrote with my own hand on behalf of the others, who are illiterate. (3rd hand) Drawn up by me, Menas.'

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was already one exception from the fifth century, i.e. VIII **1130** 31 (AD 484; see Diethart, Worp, op. cit. 85: 16. 5. 1). **4350** is from the sixth century (AD 577), **3958** from the seventh (AD 614).

<div align="right">J. C. SHELTON</div>

4351. AGREEMENT CONCERNING TAX COLLECTION

No inv. no.   26.5 × 11.5 cm   Late sixth century

A group of men from the Apion holding at Pacerce agree with the φροντιστής Iohannes that they will share with him the responsibility of collecting from it the money dues of the current eighth indiction and the grain dues of the coming ninth indiction. As in **4350**, see introd. there for similar texts, no recompense for the work is stated.

.   .   .   .   .   .

].[. . . .]. . [ὁμο]λ[ο]γ[οῦμ]εν
δι]ὰ τῆ[ς πα]ρο[ύ<ης ἐ]γγρ[ά]φου ἡμῶν ἀσφαλείας ἄνευ δόλου καὶ φόβου
καὶ βίας καὶ
ἀπάτης καὶ ἀνάγκης καὶ πάσης περιγραφῆς ἐνκινδυ⟨νεύ⟩ειν μετὰ σοῦ τοῦ
προγεγραμμένου Ἰωάννου φροντιστοῦ καὶ ἐξανύσαι τὰ δημόσια τοῦ ἡμῶν
5   κτήματος τῆς παρούσης ὀγδόης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) καὶ καταβαλεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν
ἔνδοξον οἶκον,
οὐ μὴν δὲ ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰσπρᾶξαι καὶ τὸν σῖτον τῆς ἐμβολῆς ἡμῶν τῆς σὺν Θεῷ
ἐννάτης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) καὶ δοῦναι εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ἔνδοξον οἶκον καὶ
μηδὲν ἐᾶσαι ἐν λοιπάδι
εἴτε ἐκ τῶν χρυσικῶν δημοσίων τῆς παρούσης ὀγδόης ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) εἴτε
καὶ ἐκ τοῦ σίτου
τῆς ἐμβολῆς τῆς σὺν Θεῷ ἐννάτης ἐπινεμ(ήσεως) κινδύνῳ ἡμῶν καὶ σοῦ
τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάννου,
10   εἰ δὲ οἷα ἀπομείνιτο ἐν λοιπάδι εἴτε ἐκ τῶν χρυσικῶν ἢ καὶ ἐκ [τοῦ] σίτου,
ὁμολογοῦμεν μετὰ σοῦ ταῦτα οἴκοθεν καὶ ἐξ ἰδίων ἡμῶν δοῦναι εἰς τὸν
αὐτὸν ἔνδοξ(ον) οἶκ(ον).
ὁμολογῶ δὲ κἀγὼ Ἰερημίας υἱὸς Ὥρου ἐνκινδυνεύειν σὺν τοῖς ἄλλ[οι]ς
εἰς πάντα
τὰ ἐν ταύτῃ ὁμολ(ογίᾳ). κυρ(ία) ἡ παροῦσα ὁμολ(ογία) ἁπλῆ
γραφ(εῖσα) καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθέντες) ὡμολ(ογήσαμεν). (m. 2) [Αὐρ]ήλιος
Φοιβάμμων υἱὸς Ἰωάννου ὁ προγεγραμμένος στυχῖ μοι ἡ παροῦς[α
ὁ]μολογία

15   ὡς πρόκιται. ⳨ (m. 3) Φοιβάμμων υἱὸς Ἰερημίου ὁ προγεγραμ⟨μ⟩ένος
στυ[χῖ] με ἡ παροῦσα
ὁμολογία ὡς πρόκιται. ⳨ (m. 4) Αὐρήλιος Παμένης υἱὸς Ὥρου ὁ
προγεγραμμ[ένο]ς στυχῖ μοι
ἡ παροῦσα ὁμολογία ὡς πρόκιται. (m. 5) τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἄλλων ὀνομάτων
στοιχεῖ ἡμ[ῖν ἡ] παροῦσα
ὁμολογία ὡς πρόκ(ειται). Ἰω[άννη]ς Σαρ[. . . . .].[. . . . .] ἔ[γραψα] ὑπὲρ
[αὐτῶν ἀγ]ραμμ(άτων) ὄντ(ων). (m. 6) Παμμέ[νης]
Παμμένου ὁ π[c. 25 letters   ]. υ . .[

Back, downwards along the fibres:

20   τ]ῶν ἀπὸ κτήμ(ατος) Πακέρκη τῶν χρυσικῶν[

3, 12 l. ἐγκινδυνεύειν   4 ϊωαννου   5 ινδ/   7 l. ἐνάτης; ινδ/   8 ινδ/   9 l.
ἐνάτης; επινεμϛ, ϊωαννου   11 ϊδιων, ενδοξ/οικ/   12 ϊερημιας   13 ομολ/κυρ/, ομολ/, γραφ/,
επερ/ωμολ/   14 l. στοιχεῖ   15 l. πρόκειται; ϊερημιου; l. στοιχεῖ   16 l. πρόκειται, στοιχεῖ
17 l. πρόκειται   18 προκ/, αγ]ραμμϛοντ   20 κτημϛ

'... by our present written bond we agree, without deceit, fear, violence, guile, compulsion or any fraud, to accept the risk together with you, the aforesaid manager Iohannes, and to collect the public dues from our holding for the present eighth indiction and pay these to the glorious household; and in addition to collect the grain for the *embole* for the ninth, with God's will, indiction, to give this to the same glorious household, and to leave nothing in arrears, neither any part of the public dues in gold for the present eighth indiction nor any part of the grain for the *embole* of the ninth, with God's will, indiction, at our own risk and at that of yourself, the same Iohannes; but if any such should remain in arrears either of the gold dues or of the grain, we, together with yourself, agree to give these to the same glorious household from our stores and private means. And I too, Jeremias son of Horus, agree to accept the risk together with the others in respect of everything in this agreement. The present agreement, written in one copy, is valid and when asked the former question we so agreed. (2nd hand) I, Aurelius Phoebammon son of Iohannes, the aforementioned, am satisfied with the present agreement, as aforesaid. (3rd hand) I, Phoebammon son of Jeremias, the aforementioned, am satisfied with the present agreement, as aforesaid. (4th hand) I, Aurelius Pamenes son of Horus, the aforementioned, am satisfied with the present agreement, as aforesaid. (5th hand) We, the common body of the other persons, are satisfied with the present agreement, as aforesaid. I, Iohannes son of ..., wrote on their behalf, as they are illiterate. (6th hand) I, Pammenes son of Pammenes, the aforementioned (?), ...'

Back. (1st hand) '(Agreement) of those from the holding of Pacerce concerning the dues in gold …'

2–3 ἄνευ δόλου … περιγραφῆς. A list of documents with similar clauses is given by W. Dahlmann, 'Ἡ βία im Recht der Papyri (diss. Köln 1968) 79–80, n. 1, 'Eine juristische Erklärung oder Spezifikation dieser Klausel is nicht möglich. Sie drückt vielmehr eine rechtliche Unsicherheit aus, um sich gegen jede Möglichkeit, hintergangen zu werden, abzusichern'.

3 ἐνκινδυν⟨νεύ⟩ειν. Cf. 12. This verb has not occurred in the papyri before.

ἐξανύcαι here can only mean 'collect in full'. That shade of meaning is not given in *LSJ* or in F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, but cf. ἐξάνυcιc τῶν δημοcίων in XXVII **2780** 35 and SB VI 9576. 9. In VI **904** 8 we find λειτουργίαν … ἐξανύcαι, 'to perform a public service in full'. BL I 301 recommends the restoration of it in P. Lond. IV 1370. 7–8: ἄχ[ριc] ἂν [οἴκ]οθεν τοῦτω (l. τοῦτο)|[ἐξαν]ύϲηϲ καὶ παραδώϲηϲ. Something like [ἀπολ]ύϲηϲ seems more suitable.

τὰ δημόcια here are only the money taxes, as those in grain are handled in line 6.

4–5 τοῦ ἡμῶν κτήματος. The contractors call it their *κτῆμα*, because it is their *origo*, but of course this holding at Pacerce belonged to the Apion family. The first dated appearance of it as such is of AD 489, see P. Flor. III 325, with BL VI 53.

10 εἰ δὲ οἷα ἀπομείνιτο ἐν λοιπάδι. Cf. **4350** 12–13, where what must be the same sense is expressed by εἰ δὲ ἀπομε⟨ί⟩ναι cυμβῇ τινα … ἀνείcπρακτα. Possibly an optative was intended, cf. B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 283–4, §649, i.e. read perhaps ἀπομένοιτο, but the middle seems strange in itself. Also possible is εἰ with the subjunctive, as in the passage just cited, see op. cit. 270, §601, but if ἀπομείνῃ is meant the remaining το is hard to assimilate.

17 τὸ κοινὸν κτλ. Cf. e.g. XVI **1896** 24, **1979** 23, **1981** 28–9.

19 It would be possible to envisage ὁ π[ρογεγραμμένος cτοιχεῖ μοι ἡ παρ]οῦϲα, with ὁμολογία lost in the next line, although one does not expect more subscriptions after 17–18 and παρ]οῦϲα is not an easy reading. Some ink traces below the line are apparently offsets.

J. C. SHELTON

INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *LSJ* or Suppl. The article is not indexed.

I. COMEDY

II. MYTHOGRAPHY

Ἥφαιστος 4306 [1] i 13, [3] 8
Ἠώς [4308 4, 5]

Θέμις 4306 [1] i 5?]
θεός 4306 [1] i 20, ii 8, [14]
θεοφιλής 4309 [2] 19
Θεσπρωτ- [4309 [4] 4?]
Θεσσαλ- 4309 [8] 2?, [12] [9?]
Θεσσαλία 4309 [1] [21?], [5] 2
Θεσσαλός [4309 [4] 7?]
Θέστιος [4307 7]
Θέτις 4306 [1] ii 10 [4308 8]
Θετταλός 4306 [1] i 26
Θῆβαι 4306 [1] i 17
θιγγάνειν 4309 [3] 3
θνητός 4306 [1] ii 18
Θρᾷξ [4306 [5] i 3]
θυγάτηρ 4306 [3] 12–13, [11] 2
θύειν 4306 [1] i 10–11, 18, [2] ii 8

Ἰάσων 4307 4 [4308 6]
ἱδρύειν 4306 [1] i 20–21
Ἰκάριος [4306 [2] ii 3?]
Ἴλιον 4309 [4] 18?, [7] [8?]
Ἴναχος 4306 [1] ii 22–23
Ἰνώ 4307 5? [4308 1]
Ἰοκάστη [4306 [2] ii 5]
Ἰόλαος [4306 [5] i 5]
ἵππιος 4309 [1] i 14?
ἵππος 4306 [5] i 4, [8] 2
Ἰσθμός 4306 [6] 1
ἱστορεῖν [4309 [7] 5?]
ἱστορία [4309 [1] i 16?]
Ἰταλία [4309 [1] i 21?]
Ἴτυς 4307 3
Ἴφικλος [4306 [5] i 6]
*Ἴχμαι 4306 [1] ii 6?
*Ἴχμαιος 4306 [1] ii 8, [9]
Ἰώ 4306 [1] ii 22
Ἴων 4309 [1] i 20

καδ 4309 [2] 21
Κάδμος 4306 [1] i 16   4307 5–6   [4308 1]
καί 4306 [1] i 8, 16, ii 10, 25, [5] ii [6]   [4308 1, 3, 4],
    4, [5–10], 10, [11], 11   4309 [1] i 9?, 20, ii 4, [3] 8,
    11, 12, [5] 2, 5, [10] 14
Κάλαϊς [4306 [4] 2]
καλεῖν 4306 [1] i [6], ii 24, [3] [15?]
Καλλιρόη [4308 3]
Καλλιστώ 4306 [1] i 8–9, ii 19
Καλυψώ [4308 11]
Κάστωρ [4306 [4] 3]
κατά 4309 [3] 7
καταδεικνύναι 4306 [2] ii 7

καταλείπειν [4309 [3] 11?]
Κέκροψ 4306 [1] i 6
κέλης [4306 [5] i 5]
Κέφαλος [4306 [1] i 9]   [4308 5]
Κηφισός 4306 [1] i 15
Κίρκη [4308 10]
κλαγγή 4306 [1] ii 15
Κλυταιμήστρα [4306 [11] 12?]
Κορωνίς [4306 [2] ii 1?]
κοσμήτωρ 4309 [1] i 12
κτείνειν [4307 1–2]
(-)κτείνειν 4306 [10] 5, [11] 6
Κύθηρα 4306 [1] i 12
Κυναίθαι [4309 [12] 4?]
Κυπρ- [4309 [3] 2?]
Κυπριακός 4309 [4] 13
Κῷος [4309 [3] 7?]

Λαέρτης [4306 [5] ii 5–6]
Λακεδαιμ- [4309 [11] 4–5]
Λατῖνος 4308 10
Λεβάδεια [4306 [12] ii 5–6]
λέγειν 4306 [1] ii 14?, 17   4309 [3] 15, [11] 2
λευκός 4306 [1] ii 7
Λῆμνος [4306 [1] i 14]
Λύκαια [4306 [3] 16]
Λύκαιος 4306 [1] i 24
Λυκάων 4306 [1] ii 19
Λύκος [4306 [5] i 2–3]
λύπη 4307 7

Μακεδονία 4306 [1] i 27
μαντ- 4306 [12] ii 7
μεγαλήτωρ [4309 [2] 22?]
Μελέαγρος 4307 8
Μελικέρτης [4306 [6] 1]   4307 6
Μέμνων [4308 4]
μέν 4306 [1] ii 27   4309 [1] i 3, [11] 2?
μεναιχ[μ- 4309 [8] 3?
μέναιχμος (or Μέν-) 4309 [2] 24?
μετάβασις 4309 [5] 1
μεταλλάσσειν 4306 [1] ii 17–18
Μήδεια 4307 3–4   [4308 6]
Μήδειος [4308 6]
Μιλήσιος [4309 [10] 11]
μιμνήσκειν [4309 [10] 13?]
μυθεῖσθαι 4306 [1] ii 20, 26

νάπος [4309 [6] 11?]
Ναυσίθοος [4308 11]
Ναυσίνοος [4308 11]

Νεμέα [4306 [7] 10]
νέος 4309 [5] 3
νιφόεις 4309 [9] 6
νομίζειν [4309 [5] 2–3?]

Ξεναγόρας 4309 [3] 6

ὀβριμοπάτρη 4306 [1] ii 16–17
ὄγδοος [4306 [7] 9]
ὅδε 4306 [1] i 19, ii 17, [2] ii 6, [16] 1?
Ὀδυσσεύς 4306 [5] ii 5, 6   [4308 10, 11]
ὅθεν 4306 [1] ii 7, [13], 23
οἰκοδομεῖν [4306 [1] i 22]
Οἰνεύς [4307 8]
Ὀλύμπιος 4306 [1] i 21
Ὄλυμπος 4309 [9] 6?]
Ὅμηρος [4306 [1] ii 14]
ὀνομάζειν 4306 [1] i 24–25, [15] [2?]
ὀργή 4307 5
ὅς 4306 [3] [6], 10, 17, [7] 6   4309 [3] 13, [5] 2
ὅτι 4309 [3] 11
οὐδέ [4309 [2] 13?]
οὐρανός 4306 [1] i 21
οὗτος 4306 [1] ii 9, [14–15]   4309 [3] 11, [5] 5

πάγος see Ἄρειος π.
Παιονία [4306 [1] i 6]
παῖς 4307 5
Παίων 4306 [1] ii 7
πάλη 4306 [1] 3?, [5] ii [7?]
Πανδίων 4306 [1] ii 25–26   [4307 2]
Πανοπήϊος 4306 [5] ii 8?
παρά 4309 [2] 14?
παραλαμβάνειν 4309 [4] 7?
πᾶς 4309 [3] 16?
πατρίς 4309 [3] 12
Πάτροκλος [4306 [5] ii 3]
Πελασγός 4306 [1] i 22–23, 29
Πελίας [4306 [1] i 28?, [3] 18]
Πέλοψ 4306 [7] 7
πέμπτος [4306 [3] 16]
περί 4309 [3] 16?, [5] 4
Περραιβίς [4309 [9] 5]
Πηλεύς [4308 8]
Πηνελόπη [4306 [2] ii 2–3?]
πλεῖν [4309 [1] i 18–19?]
πόλεμος 4309 [6] 14
πόλις 4306 [1] i 13
Πολυδεύκης [4306 [4] 4–5]
Πολύδωρος [4308 2]
πόρος 4306 [1] i 24
Πρόκνη 4306 [1] ii [24], 26–27   [4307 2]
προσαγορεύειν [4306 [1] ii 8–9]
Πρόσυμνα 4306 [1] i 30

πρῶτον 4306 [1] i 10, [22], [2] ii 8, [10] 2
πρῶτος 4306 [1] i [20], [2] ii 6
πυγμή [4306 [4] 5, [5] ii 7?]
πυκάζειν [4309 [2] 11?]
πωλικός [4306 [5] i 7]

ῥήτωρ [4309 [2] 6?]

Σαλμωνεύς 4306 [3] 19
Σάμος [4306 [1] i 31]
Σεμέλη 4308 1
Σκύθης [4306 [1] i 10]
Σοφοκλῆς [4309 [9] 4]
στάδιον 4306 [4] [4], [8] [3]
στρατεία 4309 [3] 10
συνωρίς [4306 [5] i 7]
σφενδόνη [4306 [5] i 9]

ταχύπορος [4309 [2] 5?]
Τελαμών [4306 [5] ii 7, 10?]
τέλειος [4306 [3] i 6]
τέταρτος [4306 [3] 13]
Τηλέγονος [4308 10]
Τηρεύς 4307 3
τιθέναι 4306 [3] 6–7, 10–11, [18]
Τιθωνός [4308 4]
τόξον [4306 [5] i 8]
Τραπεζοῦς [4306 [3] 14]
τρίτος 4306 [1] i 27, [3] 10   4309 [1] i 19–20?]
Τροία 4306 [5] i 4   4309 [1] i 18?]
τρόπος [4309 [3] 13]
Τροφώνιος [4306 [12] 4–5]
Τυδεύς [4306 [5] ii 4–5]
Τυνδάρεως [4306 [4] 3–4, 5]
Τυρώ 4306 [3] 19

ὕδωρ [4309 [2] 21?]
ὑπέρ 4309 [3] 9
ὕστερον 4309 [7] 6?]

Φαέθων [4308 5]
φάναι 4306 [1] i 17   4309 [3] [13–14?], [12] 7?]
Φείδιππος 4309 [1] i 11, 17, [4] 10?, [10] [13–14?]
φθίειν 4309 [2] 13?
Φιλομήλα 4306 [1] ii 25, [27–28]
Φιλωνίς [4306 [2] ii 1?]
Φοῖνιξ [4306 [1] i 11]
Φορωνεύς 4306 [1] i 29–30, [32?]
Φύλακος [4306 [5] i 6]
φύλλον [4306 [2] ii 6?]
φύλοπις [4309 [6] 14?]
φύσις [4306 [1] ii 18]
Φῶκος [4308 7]

III. RULERS AND REGNAL YEARS

DOMITIAN

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Δομιτιανὸς Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικὸς (year 14) **4334** 3–4

HADRIAN

Ἁδριανὸς Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος (year 12) **4335** 5
Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ Τραιανὸς Ἁδριανὸς Σεβαστός (year 13) **4335** 18–19

MARCUS AURELIUS

Αὐρήλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος **4336** 14 (year 9), 16–17 (year 8), 28 (year 9), 41–42 (year 10), 55 (year 11)

COMMODUS

Αὐρήλιος Κόμμοδος Καῖσαρ ὁ κύριος (year 23) **4338** 2–3

CONSTANTIUS

(year 32: no titulature) **4347** 6

GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, AND THEODOSIUS I

(year 14, 6, 2: no titulature) **4346** 10

JUSTIN II

ὁ θειότατος καὶ εὐσεβέστατος ἡμῶν δεσπότης μέγιστος εὐεργέτης Φλάουιος Ἰουστῖνος ὁ αἰώνιος Αὔγουστος καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ **4350** 1–2 (year 11)

IV. CONSULS

AD 319 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίνου Σεβαστοῦ τὸ ε´ καὶ Λικιννίου τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίσαρος τὸ α´ **4341** 1–3
AD 342 ὑπατείας τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου τὸ γ´ καὶ Κώνσταντος τὸ β´ Αὐγούστων **4344** 1–2
AD 504 μετὰ τὴν ὑπατείαν Φλαουίου Δεξικράτους τοῦ ἐνδοξοτάτου **4349** 1

AD 576 ὑπατείας τῆς αὐτῶν γαληνότητος τὸ β´ (Justin II) καὶ Φλαουίου Τιβερίου τοῦ καὶ Νέου Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ εὐτυχεστάτου ἡμῶν Καίσαρος **4350** 2–3

V. INDICTIONS AND ERAS

(a) INDICTIONS

1st indiction **4344** 10 (=AD 342/3 νέα)
2nd indiction **4345** 5–6 (=AD 343/4 νέα)
8th indiction **4351** 5, 8 (late sixth century)
9th indiction **4346** 6 (=AD 380/1)   **4350** 3 (=AD 575/6)   **4351** 7, 9 (late sixth century)

10th indiction **4350** 10, 13 (=AD 576/7)
13th indiction **4349** 1, 14–15 (=AD 504/5)
14th indiction **4347** 4 (=AD 355/6)

(b) ERAS

181/150 = AD 504/5 **4349** 14

VI. MONTHS AND DAYS

(a) MONTHS

Ἁθύρ **4346** 10

Ἐπείφ **4336** 33   **4341** 9, 22   **4350** 3

Θώθ **4336** 34   **4349** 14

Μεσορή **4336** 29   **4349** 1

Φαμενώθ (**4336** 30)   **4342** i 6, 21, ii 21, iii 11
Φαῶφι **4335** 19   **4347** 6

(b) DAYS

νεομηνία **4349** 13

VII. DATES

27 October 128 **4335** 17–19
19 August 169 **4336** 28–29
27 February 170 **4336** 30
17 July 170 **4336** 33
29 August–27 September 170 **4336** 34
24 July 319 **4341** 22

10 October 355 **4347** 6
5 November 380 **4346** 10
20 August 504 **4349** 1
29 August 504 **4349** 13–14
22 July 576 **4350** 1–3

VIII. PERSONAL NAMES

Ἀβοθρις from Phancona **4343** 32
Ἁδριανός see Index III s.v. Hadrian
Ἄμμων s. of Asyncritius **4343** 22, 29
Ἀμμωνᾶς **4343** 15, [17?]
Ἀμμώνιος **4339** 1
Ἀμμώνιος: Aurelius Ammonius **4341** 24
Ἀμμώνιος: Aurelius Ammonius s. of Psenamunis **4345** 14
Ἀμμώνιος f. of Antiochus **4334** 21
Ἀμόϊς s. of Apollonius **4334** 25
Ἀμόϊς s. of Diogenes **4334** 17
Ἀμόϊς s. of Harpaesis, b. of Anetrais and Papontos **4334** 29
Ἀνετράϊς s. of Harpaesis, b. of Amois and Papontos **4334** 28
Ἀνθ( ) gd.-f. of Anthestis, f. of Dionysius **4334** 7
Ἀνθέστις s. of Dionysius, gd.-s. of Anth( ) **4334** 7
Ἀνοῦπ: Aurelius Anup φροντιστής, s. of Jeremias (or Elias, 16) **4350** 6, 16
Ἀνοῦπ f. of Aurelius Pamuthius **4350** 7, 16

Ἄνσῶς f. of Harmiysis **4338** 4
Ἀντίοχος ν(εώτερος) f. of Theon *alias* Ptolemaeus **4338** 5
Ἀντίοχος s. of Ammo(nius) **4334** 21
Ἀντωνῖνος see Index III s.v. Marcus Aurelius
Ἀπίων: Flavius Apion ex-consul, *patricius* **4350** 4
Ἀπολλοθέων ἐπιμελητὴς Λιβύης **4347** 7
Ἀπολλω- f. of Harbekis **4334** 30
Ἀπολλώνιος: Attius alias Apollonius, f. of Attius **4335** 2
Ἀπολλώνιος f. of Aurelius Pamuthis skipper **4346** 1
Ἀπολλώνιος f. of Amois **4334** 25
Ἀπολλώνιος f. of Saras **4334** 26
Ἀπολλώνιος s. of Epaphroditus **4335** 6
Ἀπολλῶς f. of Nechthenibis **4334** 19
Ἀπολλῶς s. of Achilles **4334** 8
Ἀρβῆκις s. of Apollon... **4334** 30
Ἀρμῦσις s. of Ansos **4338** 4
Ἁρπαῆσις f. of Amois, Anetrais, and Papontos **4334** 27
Ἁρπαῆσις f. of Petechon tenant farmer **4336** 2, (23)

Πετοςῖρις f. of X. tenant farmer **4336** 10
Πετρώνιος f. of Hermus and Sentheus **4334** 11
Πλούταρχος *curator* of Julius Theon former archidi-
    castes etc. **4336** 37, [47]
Πλούταρχος donkey-driver [**4343** 16?]
Πραῶς f. of Aurelius Pamuthius ἕτερος **4350** 7, [16]
Πτολεμαῖος: Theon *alias* Ptolemaeus, s.of Antiochus
    ν(εώτερος) **4338** 4
Πτολεμαῖος s. of Heracles, b. of Zoilus **4334** 14
Πτολεμαῖος f. of Tkuchis **4334** 13
Πτολλίων f. of Heras **4334** 9

Cάλουιος: Marcus Salvius Justus **4337** 7
Caρ[f. of Iohannes **4351** 18
Caράμμων gd.-f. of Teeus, f. of Heracleides **4340**
    13–14
Caραπᾶς gd.-f. of Heracleia, f. of Theon **4337** 2
Caραπίων **4342** i 1
Caρᾶς s. of Apollonius **4334** 26
Cεβαςτός **4334** 4   **4335** 19   [**4341** 2] *see also* Index
    III s.vv. Domitian, Hadrian; IV s.v. AD 319
Cελμων: Heracleides *alias* (or s. of?) Selmon **4340**
    16–17, 28
Cενθεύς s. of Petronius, b. of Hermus **4334** 11
Cιλβανός: Aurelius Silvanus **4342** ii 22
Cινθοῶνις d. of Phatreus **4334** 20
Cόις **4340** 24
Cύρος **4336** 30

Τεεύς d. of Heracleides, gd.-d. of Sarammon **4340** 13
Τεθεῦς m. of ...mois **4336** 18
Τιβέριος: Φλάουιος Τιβέριος ὁ καὶ Νέος Κωνσταντῖνος
    4350 2–3 *see also* Index IV s.v. AD 576
Τκοῦχις d. of Ptolemaeus **4334** 13
Τραϊανός *see* Index III s.v. Hadrian

Φανίας f. of Hieracion alias Phanias **4337** 4
Φανίας: Hieracion alias Phanias, s. of Phanias **4337** 4
Φατρεύς f. of Sinthoonis **4334** 20
Φίλων f. of Hatres, s. of Hermus **4334** 23
Φλάουιος Ἀπίων ex-consul, *patricius* **4350** 4
Φλάουιος Δεξικράτης *vir gloriosissimus*, consul AD 504
    4349 1
Φλάουιος Ἰουστῖνος **4350** 1 *see also* Index III s.v.
    Justin II
Φλάουιος Ὀλύμπιος *praeses Augustamnicae* **4345** 13
Φλάουιος Τιβέριος ὁ καὶ Νέος Κωνσταντῖνος **4350** 2–3
    see also Index IV s.v. AD 576
Φοιβάμμων: Aurelius Phoebammon, s. of Daniel
    4349 4, 20
Φοιβάμμων: Aurelius Phoebammon, s. of Iohannes
    4351 13–14
Φοιβάμμων s. of Jeremias **4351** 15
Φοῦσκος: Claudius Fuscus, *curator* of Julius Theon
    former archidicastes etc. **4336** 8, 22

Χάρμος s. of Diogenes πρεσβύτερος **4334** 24
Χάρμος s. of Inarus **4334** 16

Ψεναμοῦνις: f. of Aurelius Ammonius **4345** 14
Ψεναμοῦνις f. of Aurelius Cephalas **4344** 15
Ψεναμοῦνις f. of Aurelius Heracleides **4344** 16
Ψοῖς: Aurelius Psois **4341** 5, 23

Ὠρίων f. of Aurelius Cames comarch **4344** 5
Ὧρος: Aurelius Horus **4342** i 25, ii 25, iii 15
Ὧρος: Aurelius Horus comarch, s. of Horus **4344**
    5, 21
Ὧρος f. of Aurelius Horus comarch **4344** 5
Ὧρος f. of Aurelius Zoilus **4341** 5
Ὧρος f. of Jeremias **4351** 12
Ὧρος f. of Pamenes **4351** 16

IX. GEOGRAPHICAL

(a) COUNTRIES, NOMES, TOPARCHIES, CITIES, ETC.

Ἀλθαιεύς (Alexandrian deme) **4335** 2
ἀπηλιώτου (τοπαρχία) (**4336** 17)
Αὐγουσταμινική **4345** 12

Γερμανικός **4334** 4 *see also* Index III s.v. Domitian

Εἰρηνοφυλάκειος (Alexandrian tribe) **4335** 1

Ἰουστίνου: ἡ Νέα Ἰουστίνου πόλις **4350** 5

λιβὸς (τοπαρχία) **4338** 3
Λιβύη **4347** 2, 7

Νέα Ἰουστίνου πόλις **4350** 5

Ὀξυρυγχίτης (νομός) **4341** 4   **4344** 3
Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλις **4345** 2   **4349** 6, 7
Ὀξυρύγχων πόλις **4335** 3   **4336** 1–2   **4337** 3

πᾶγος **4341** 7 (7th)   **4342** i [4] (1st)   **4344** 6–7 (5th)

(b) VILLAGES, ETC.

Ἰσχυ- (ἐποίκιον) **4341** 6

Κελχουπετ (ἐποίκιον) **4342** i 14
Κερκεμοῦνις **4336** 3   **4342** i 4

Ληνῶνος (ἐποίκιον) **4342** i 15)

Ξενάρχου **4342** iii 2

Ὀλυμπιάδος (ἐποίκιον) **4342** i 12

Πακέρκη **4351** 20
Παῶμις **4335** 8

Πέλα **4337** 8
Πολέμου (ἐποίκιον) **4342** i 16
Ποσομποῦις **4344** 6, 24

Cάσου Κάτω **4350** 8, 21
Cενέπτα **4334** 2
Cεφώ **4341** 11
Cκώ **4336** 19
Cύρων **4338** 3

Ταλαώ **4342** i 2
Τερθθις **4336** 4, [18–19], (25)
Τριγύου (ἐποίκιον) **4342** i 3, 11

(c) MISCELLANEOUS

Διοίτου **4342** i 8 (χῶμα (?) καλούμενον Δ.)

Κεραμίου (χωρίον) **4343** 24
Κρότου (κλῆρος) **4337** 15–16

Μουσεῖον **4336** 38

Cεύθου (κλῆρος) **4337** 9
Cεφώ **4341** 11

Φανκόνα **4343** 32

X. RELIGION

εὐσεβής **4350** 1 (εὐσεβέστατος ... δεσπότης) *see also*
    Index III s.v. Justin II

θεῖος **4350** 1 (θειότατος ... δεσπότης) *see also* Index
    III s.v. Justin II
θεός **4351** 6, 9

κλίνη **4339** 2
κύριος **4339** 2 (Sarapis)

Μουσεῖον **4336** 38

Cαραπεῖον **4339** 4
Cάραπις **4339** 3
Cεβαστός **4334** 4   **4335** 19   [**4341** 2] *see also* Index
    III s.vv. Domitian, Hadrian; IV s.v. AD 319

XI. OFFICIAL AND MILITARY TERMS AND TITLES

αἰώνιος **4350** 1 *see also* Index III s.v. Justin II
ἀρχιδικαστής (**4336** 9, 23, 37)
ἀτελής: οἱ ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ ἀτελεῖς **4336** 38
Αὔγουστος **4344** 2   **4350** 2 *see also* Index III s.v.
    Justin II; IV s.v. AD 342
Αὐτοκράτωρ **4334** 3   **4335** 18   **4350** 2 *see also* Index
    III s.vv. Domitian, Hadrian, Justin II

βασιλεία **4350** 1
βασιλικός **4337** 12, 17–18
βοηθός **4347** 3

γαληνότης **4350** 2 *see also* Index IV s.v. AD 576

δεκανία **4345** 5?, [7?]
δεσπότης [**4341** 1]   **4344** 1   **4350** 1 *see also* Index
    III s.v. Justin II; IV s.vv. AD 319, AD 342
δεσποτικός **4347** 3
δημόσιον **4337** 5–6   **4338** 1
διάσημος **4345** 11

ἐμβολή **4351** 6, 9
ἐναπόγραφος **4350** 8

XII. PROFESSIONS, TRADES, AND OCCUPATIONS

XIII. MEASURES

(a) WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

(b) MONEY

XIV. TAXES

XV. GENERAL INDEX OF WORDS

ἀργυρικός **4335** 6
ἄρουρα see Index XIII (a)
ἀρτάβη see Index XIII (a)
ἄρτος **4343** 20
ἀρχή (**4349**) 1
ἀρχιδικαστής (**4336** 9, 23, 37)
ἀσπάζεσθαι **4340** 29, 30–31
ἀσφάλεια **4350** 9 **4351** 2
ἀτελής: οἱ ἐν τῷ Μουσείῳ ἀτελεῖς **4336** 38
Αὔγουστος **4344** 2 **4350** 2 see also Index III s.v. Justin II; IV s.v. AD 342
Αὐτοκράτωρ **4334** 3 **4335** 18 **4350** 2 see also Index III s.vv. Domitian, Hadrian, Justin II
αὐτός (same) **4336** 30, 40, (42) **4337** 4–5 **4342** i 13, ii 15, iii 5 **4343** 19 **4344** 19 **4345** 7, 9 **4349** 7, [15], 17, [18] **4350** 6, 18 **4351** 7, 9, 11
αὐτός (he, she, it) **4335** 8 **4336** (32), 46 **4340** 12, 19 **4341** 10, 24 **4342** i [23], ii (23), iii 13 **4343** 14 **4344** 23 **4349** 3, 12 **4350** 2, 8,12 [**4351** 18]
ἀφιέναι **4343** 14
ἄχυρον **4348** 3

βασιλεία **4350** 1
βασιλικός **4337** 12, 17–18
βία **4350** 9 **4351** 2
βοηθός **4347** 3
βορινός **4342** i 12
βορρᾶς **4337** 12, 17 **4342** ii 13, iii 2
βούλεσθαι **4337** 5
βουρδών **4348** 5

γαληνότης **4350** 2 see also Index IV s.v. AD 576
γαμβρός **4340** 32
γείτων **4337** 11, 17
γένημα **4336** [(16)], (25), (33), (42) **4338** 1 **4344** 9–10 **4347** 4
γεουχεῖν **4349** 7 **4350** 4
γεοῦχος **4343** 13 (ἡ)
γεωμετρία **4335** 9–10
γεωργεῖν **4335** 6 **4336** 11
γεωργός **4336** 10, 24, 39, 51 **4350** 8
γίνεσθαι (**4336** 7, [9], 20, 22, 27, 29, 31, 32 bis, 34, 35, 36, 37, 44) (**4338** 6, 9) [**4341** 21] (**4346** 7) (**4347** 5) (**4349** 11) (**4350** 21)
γνώμη **4344** 13
γράμμα [**4341** 25] **4342** (i 23, ii 23), iii 13 [**4344** 23?]
γραμματεύς (**4350** 7)
γραμμάτιον (**4349** 20)
γράφειν **4340** 12, 21 **4341** 24 **4342** i 22, ii 23, iii 13 **4350** (15), 18 **4351** (13), [18]
γύης **4337** 12
γυνή **4340** 21

δάφνη **4340** 4(?)
δέ **4334** 5 **4335** 12, 14 **4337** 15 **4340** 7, 21 **4344** 14 **4345** 13 **4346** 8 **4349** 15 **4350** 12 **4351** 6, 10, 12
δεῖν **4340** 12
δειπνεῖν **4339** 1–2
δέκα **4337** 10 **4340** 4
δεκαδύο **4338** 5–6, 8
δεκανία **4345** 5?, [7?]
δέκατος **4336** 41, 42 **4350** 10, 13
δεκατρεῖς **4349** 13
δέσμη **4340** 4
δεσπότης [**4341** 1] **4344** 1 **4350** 1, 6 see also Index III s.v. Justin II; IV s.vv. AD 319, AD 342
δέχεσθαι **4349** 8
δηλοῦν [**4341** 10] **4342** i 7 **4349** 3
δημόσιος **4337** 5–6 **4338** 1 **4343** 2 **4350** 10, 13, 17 **4351** 4, 8 see also Index XI s.v. δημόσιον; XIV s.v. δημόσια
διά **4335** 13 **4336** (16), 30 **4338** 3 [**4341** 8] **4342** i 5, 9 **4347** 3 **4350** 5, 9, 20 [**4351** 2]
διακόσιοι **4347** 4–5,8
διαστέλλειν [**4336** 16]
διαφέρειν **4350** 8
διδόναι **4340** 33 [**4344** 7] **4345** 3 **4349** 3, 12, 17 **4350** 14 **4351** 7, 11
διέρχεσθαι **4335** 4–5 (**4336** 16)
δίκαιον **4336** 6
δίκαιος **4349** 13
δισσός **4340** 23
δίχα **4350** 14
δόλος **4350** 9 **4351** 2
δραχμή see Index XIII (b)
δύνασθαι **4345** 8
δύο **4336** 44
δωδέκατος **4335** 5

ἐάν **4340** 7
ἐάν **4350** 12 **4351** 7
ἑβδομήκοντα **4336** 26
ἐγγράφειν **4349** 18
ἔγγραφος **4350** 9 **4351** 2
ἐγγυᾶσθαι **4344** 12
ἐγγυητής **4349** [2], 11, 16, 20
ἐγκαλεῖν **4335** 15
ἐγκινδυνεύειν **4351** 3, 12
ἐγώ **4335** 11, 17 **4340** 21, 25, (26), 33 **4341** 8 **4349** 4, 8, 11 (bis), 15, 16, 18 **4350** 20 **4351** 12, 14, 15, 16 see also ἡμεῖς
εἰ **4349** 15 **4350** 12 **4351** 10
εἰδέναι **4341** 25 **4342** i 23, ii 23, iii [13]
εἴκοσι **4335** 15 **4336** 7, 31, 54
εἶναι **4334** 5 **4335** 14 **4344** 11, 14, 19 **4345** 7, 13 **4350** 19 (**4351** 18)

εἰς **4336** 5 (σες pap.), 40 **4337** 6, 8 **4338** 1 **4339** 2 **4341** 9 **4342** i [7] **4343** 2, 17, 19, 25–27, 29, 31, 32 **4344** 8 **4345** 3 [**4346** 4] **4347** 1 **4349** 12 **4350** 11 **4351** 7, 11, 12
εἷς **4335** 10 **4336** 20, 34 **4337** 11 **4340** 21
εἰσαγγέλλειν **4344** 7 **4345** 3
εἰσέρχεσθαι **4349** 14
εἰσπράττειν **4350** 11 **4351** 6
εἴτε **4351** 8 (bis), 10
ἐκ **4335** 9 **4337** 5, 8, 15 **4340** 22, 23 **4341** 11 **4342** ii 12, 13, iii [2] **4343** 5, 7, 9 **4349** 14, [16] **4350** 12,13 **4351** 8 (bis), 10 (bis), 11
ἕκαστος **4350** 11
ἑκατόν **4336** 31, 43 [**4346** 6]
ἑκούσιος [**4344** 13]
ἐκτελεῖν **4344** 13
ἐκτός **4350** 9
ἐκφόριον **4336** (25), 41
ἐλαττοῦν **4336** [13], 27, 32, 45
ἐμβάλλειν **4343** 2 **4344** 4 **4347** 1
ἐμβολή **4351** 6, 9
ἐμός **4350** 18 (bis)
ἐν **4336** 13, 27, 32, 38 **4339** 3 **4340** 10 **4349** 7, 13, 17 **4350** 12 **4351** 7, 10, 13
ἐναπόγραφος **4350** 8
ἔνατος **4346** 6 **4351** 7, 9
ἔνδοξος **4349** (1), 6 **4350** 12 **4351** 5, 7, 11
ἐνέχειν **4349** 12 **4350** 14
ἐνιστάναι **4335** 16 **4336** 53 **4338** 2
ἐννέα **4337** 10
ἐνοχή **4350** 6
ἐνοχλεῖν **4340** 25
ἐνταῦθα **4350** 5
ἐντεῦθεν **4349** 9
ἕξ **4336** 26, 34 **4349** 10, 18
ἐξανύειν **4351** 4
ἐξετάζειν **4340** 10
ἑξήκοντα **4336** 31
ἑξῆς **4337** 13 **4341** 9 [**4342** i 7] **4345** 6 **4349** 3, 5, 13
ἐξουσία [**4345** 10–11]
ἐπερωτᾶν **4350** 5, (15) (**4351** 13)
ἕπεσθαι see Index XI s.v. ἑπόμενα
ἐπί **4336** 32 **4337** 10 **4340** 26 [**4341** 9, 10, 11] **4342** i 6, [8], ii [12], 13, iii 2 **4345** 10 **4349** 11 **4351** 5
ἐπιβάλλειν **4335** 4
ἐπιδιδόναι **4342** i 22, ii 22, iii 12 **4344** 22
ἐπινέμησις **4349** 15 **4350** 10, 13 (**4351** 9)
ἐπίσταλμα **4343** 5, 7, 10
ἐπιτήδειος **4344** 11–12
ἐπιφανής [**4341** 2–3] see also Index IV s.v. AD 319
ἐποίκιον **4341** 6 **4342** i 3, 11–16 **4350** 8, 21 see

also Index IX (b) s.vv. Ἴσχυ-, Κελχουπετ, Λημῶνος, Ὀλυμπιάδος, Πολέμου, Σάσου Κάτω, Τριγύου
ἐποικιώτης **4342** i 9
ἐρωτᾶν **4339** 1
ἐσθής **4348** 8
ἕτερος **4334** 29 **4335** 11 **4350** 7
ἔτι **4335** 12
ἑτοίμως **4350** 10
ἔτος **4335** 5, 17 **4336** 41, 42, 53 **4349** 14 **4350** 2 (ἔτος) **4334** 3 **4336** [14], 16?, 25, 28, 30 bis, 34, 35, 55 **4338** 2 **4346** 10 **4347** 6
εὐδοκεῖν **4344** 20
εὐεργέτης **4350** 1 see also Index III s.v. Justin II
εὔπορος **4344** 11
εὑρίσκειν **4335** 8
εὐσεβής **4350** 1 (εὐσεβέστατος ... δεσπότης) see also Index III s.v. Justin II
εὐτυχής **4345** 3 **4350** 3 see also Index IV s.v. AD 576
εὔχεσθαι (**4340** 34)
ἔχειν **4336** [5] **4340** 6 **4346** 8 **4350** 10
ἕως **4341** 15–20 **4342** i 18–20, ii 18–20, iii 8–10

ζυγόν see Index XIII (b) s.v. ἰδιωτικὸν ζ.

ἤ **4349** 11, [15], 16 **4351** 10
ἡγεμών **4345** 12 see also Index XI
ἡμεῖς **4340** 2, 3, 9, 12 **4341** 1 **4342** i 5 **4344** 1, [8] **4345** 11 **4350** 1, 3, 9, 11 (bis), [15], 17 (υμιν pap.) **4351** 2, 4, 6, 9, 11, 17 see also ἐγώ
ἡμέρα **4335** 16
ἡμέτερος **4341** 12 **4344** 8 **4345** 4
ἡμιαρτάβιος (**4336** 25, 43)
ἥμισυς **4335** 4, 12–13 **4346** 7, [(7)] [**4348** 9] **4349** 13
ἡμιωβέλιον (**4336** 35 bis?)
ἡπητής **4343** 26

θεῖος **4350** 1 see also Index III s.v. Justin II
θέμα (**4336** 20) (**4338** 3, 5) see also Index XI
θεός **4351** 6, 9 see also Index X
θυγάτηρ **4340** 15

ἰδιόγραφος **4335** 16–17
ἴδιος **4343** 5 **4344** 7 **4350** 5
ἰδιωτικός **4337** 10 **4344** 9 **4349** 10, (11) see also Index XIII (b) s.v. ἰδιωτικὸν ζυγόν
ἱερός **4345**, 4, 9
ἰνδικτίων **4344** 10 **4345** 6 **4346** 6 (**4347** 4) [(**4349** 1)] **4350** 3 (**4351** 5, 7, 8) see also Index V

καθαρός **4346** 6
καθώς **4345** 10
καί **4334** 2 **4335** 2 (bis), 8, 9, 12, 15 **4336** 6?, 9,

XVI. CORRECTIONS TO PUBLISHED TEXTS

4301

fr. 1

fr. 2

4304

4303

4317

PLATE II

4302

PLATE III

4306 fr. 1

PLATE IV

4306

fr. 4

fr. 2
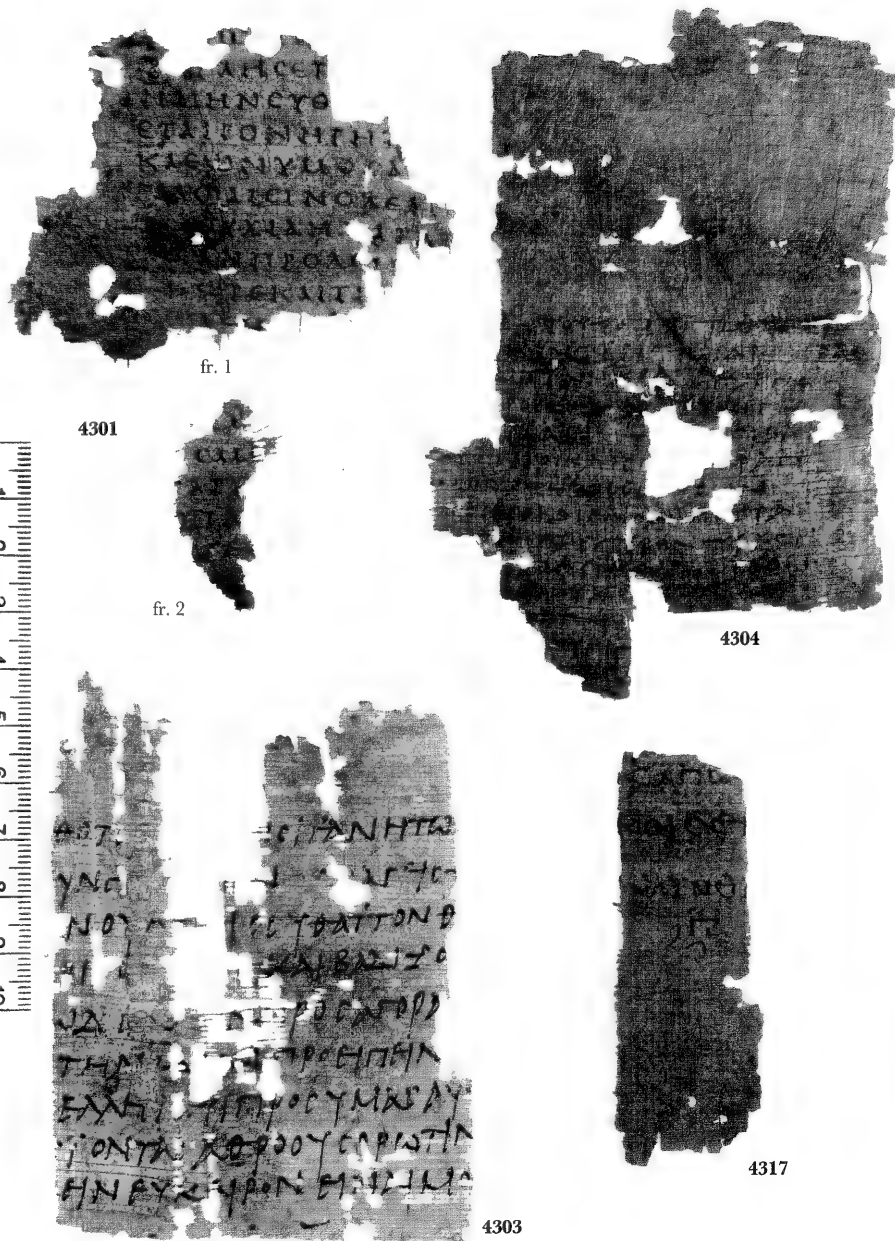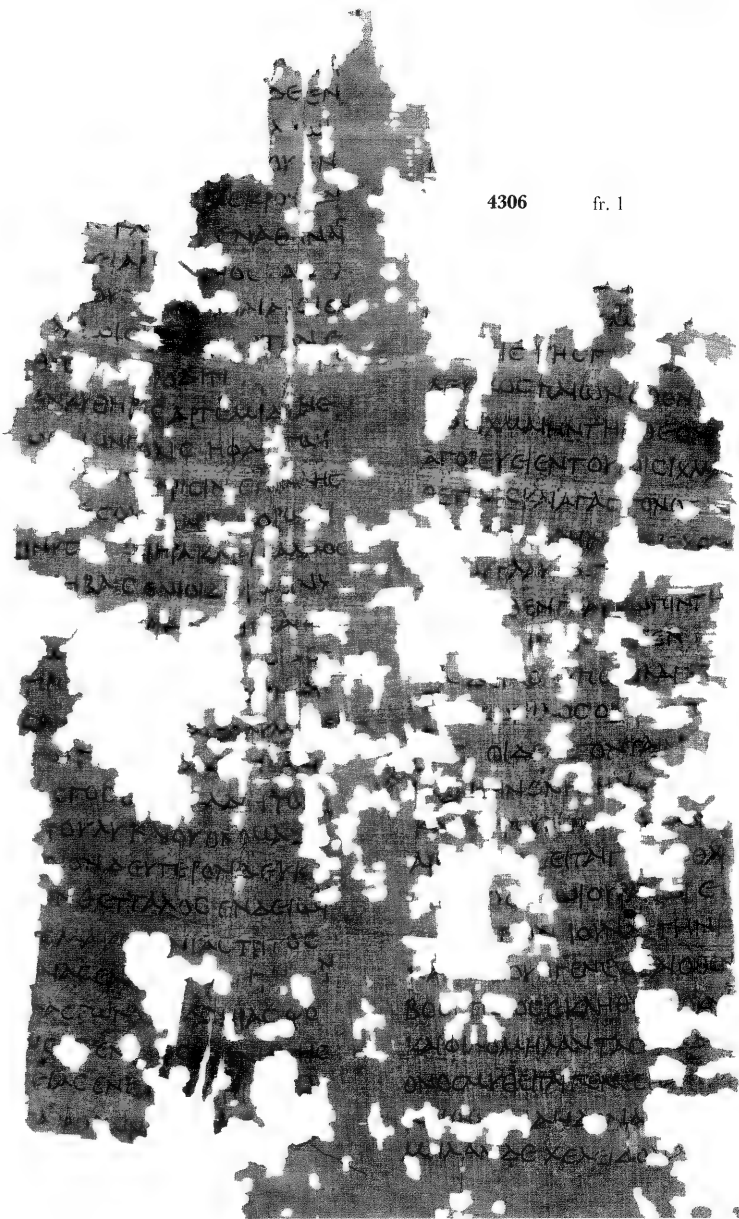
fr. 5d

fr. 5a

fr. 5b

fr. 5c

fr. 3a

fr. 6

fr. 7a

fr. 3b
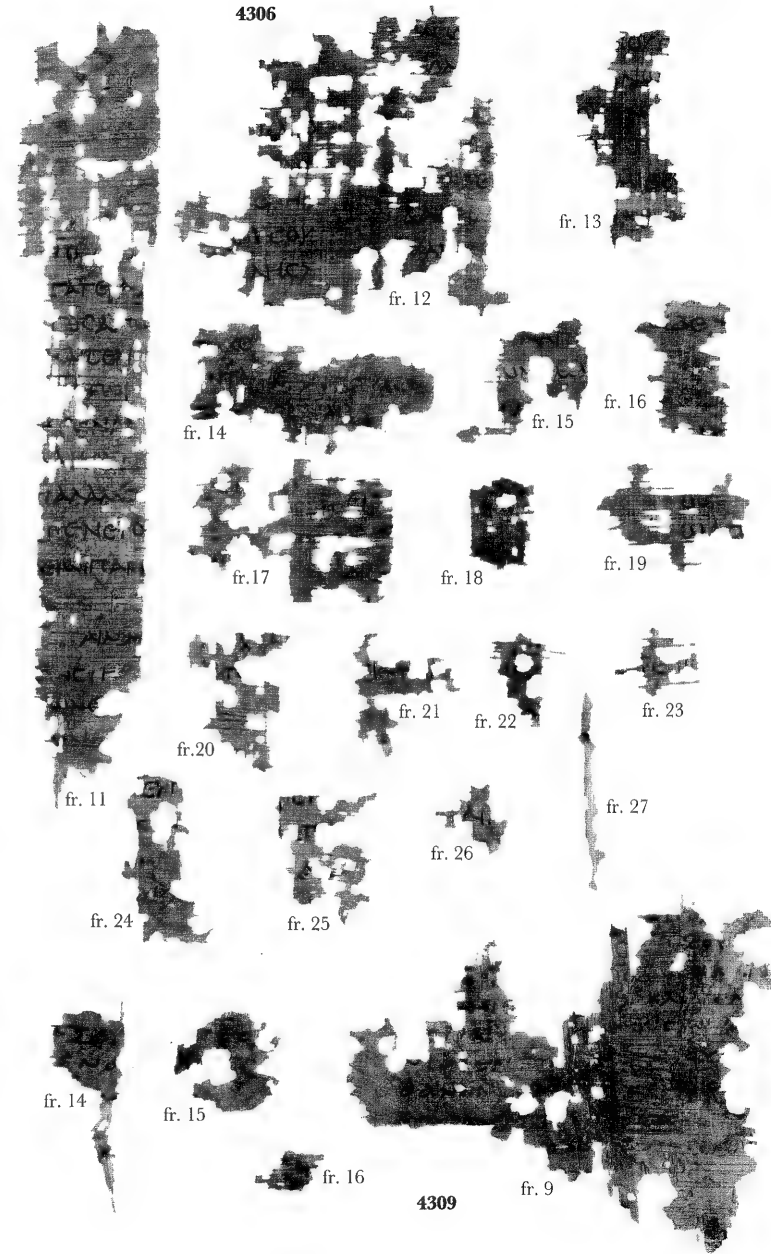
fr. 8

fr. 3c

fr. 7b

fr.10

fr. 9

PLATE V

4306

fr. 13

fr. 12

fr. 14

fr. 15

fr. 16

fr.17

fr. 18

fr. 19

fr. 21

fr. 22

fr. 23

fr.20

fr. 11

fr. 27

fr. 26

fr. 24

fr. 25

fr. 14

fr. 15

fr. 16

4309

fr. 9

PLATE VI

4305   fr. 1   fr. 2

4307

4308

4339

PLATE VII

4309

PLATE VIII

fr. 4

fr. 5

fr. 7

fr. 8

fr. 10

fr. 11

fr. 12

fr. 13

cm 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

PLATE IX

4321

PLATE X

4335

cm 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

PLATE XI

4346